July, 1933 Vol. X. No. 3

# THE CROZER QUARTERLY

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THE CROZER QUARTERLY is published by the Faculty of Crozer Theological Seminary, with the aid of funds provided by the Trustees. THE QUARTERLY aims to be a journal for the expression of theological opinion, embracing all the interests of students of religion, whether ministers, teachers, or laymen. It does not accept responsibility for the views expressed, publication indicating that the editors regard the articles as voicing opinions important enough to command attention.

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Remittances and business communications should be addressed to

THE BUSINESS MANAGER, THE CROZER QUARTERLY
Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.

Editorial communications, contributions and books for review should be sent to

THE EDITOR, THE CROZER QUARTERLY
Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.

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Subscription, $1.50 the year; single numbers, 40 cents

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**Printed for the Crozer Theological Seminary by**
**THE JUDSON PRESS**
**Philadelphia, Pa.**

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Entered as second-class matter, December 21, 1923, at the post-office at Chester, Pa., under Act of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized December 21, 1923.

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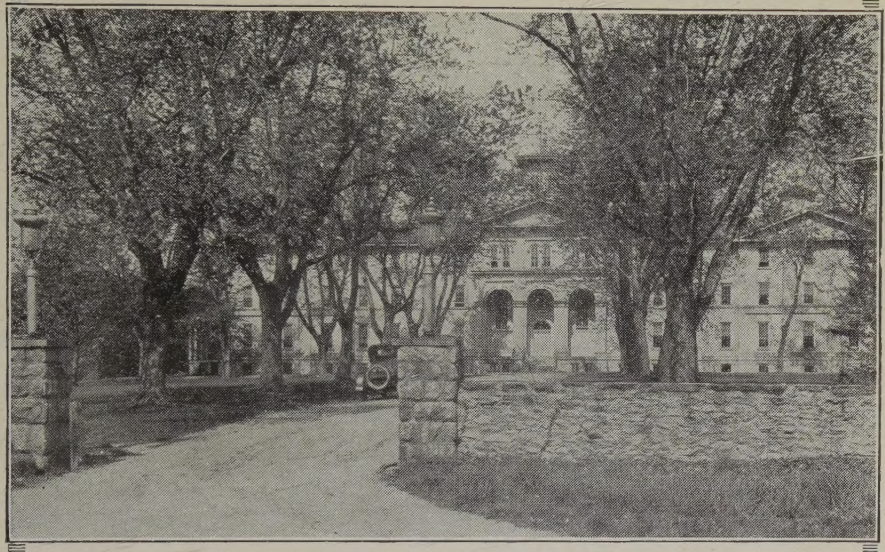

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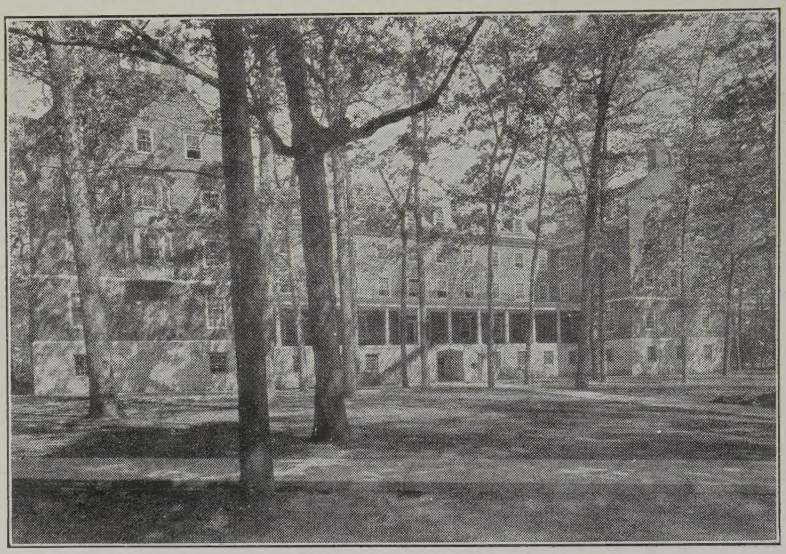

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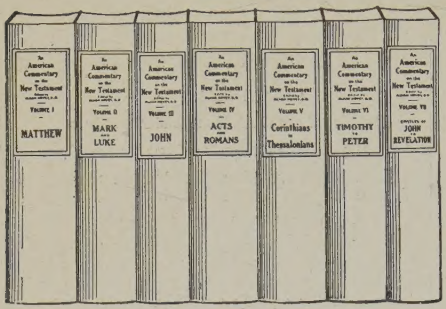


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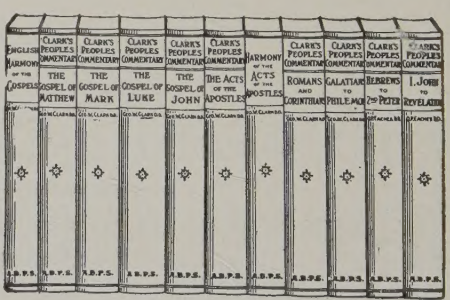
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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

Vol. X JULY, 1933 No. 3

# THE PROBLEM OF DEATH IN POPULAR JUDÆO-HELLENISTIC PIETY

GEORG BERTRAM

Professor of New Testament, Hessische Ludwigs-Universität
Giessen, Germany

Translated by MORTON S. ENSLIN

ALTHOUGH the problem of death is a universal problem of mankind, toward the solution of which all ages and classes of mankind have struggled, interest in this problem none the less occupies by no means a central point in the workaday world. It requires the blow of death itself in the destiny of a man or group of men to confront the individual, to confront nations and epochs of mankind, with the question what death is, a question which includes the question regarding the hereafter. But if great catastrophes, war, pestilence, famine (the apocalyptic horsemen), catastrophes of nature, as the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, catastrophes of handicraft, as the fall of the tower of Siloam (Luke 13: 4), do not make the question especially impressive, man's response in the face of the unescapable fate of every day is hastily given: "The affecting picture of death stands not as a dread to the wise, and not as an end to the pious." [1]

Even in a primitive stage of their development men assume a continuation of existence beyond death. The grounds for this are manifold. This belief seems to be grounded in experience, if we think of the events of dreams, where for the primitive man of every age the dead manifest themselves. The

[1] Goethe, *Hermann und Dorothea*, ix, 46f.

most effective spur to hope in another world is the instinct of self-preservation, the horror of annihilation, which leads in higher stages of culture to conclusions of a logical and ethical type for self-justification. Accordingly the idea of the permanency of what exists, even in us, seems to necessitate the continuance of the ego beyond death; while the ethical categories of justice and of the purposefulness of existence demand a continuation and completion of human life beyond the grave.

Notions of a continuance of life exist probably universally in one form or another without our being able to speak of a solution of the problem of death. On the contrary, this question is not raised until, going beyond such theoretic, wishful, lifeless ideas, man opposes consciously and effectively a living faith in a resurrection from the dead, and a steadfast confidence in the immortality of the soul to all dread of the transitoriness of life, to all fear of death, and with them, to all pessimistic longing for the eternal quiet of death's sleep, to all fanatic affirmations of a complete dissolution in the All, to all flight from the ego.

The Hellenistic Age, especially since the first centuries of our era, is characterized, speaking from the point of view of *Religionsgeschichte,* by the fact that in many religions and cults such a belief simultaneously emerges, that as a result of this they take on a transcendent character, and that in place of insuring complaisance toward the present life and its possessions there is substituted anxiety regarding further life in the world to come, its premises both ethical and of worship, as well as whether this life will bring happiness or the reverse. In parallel development, practically simultaneously, and in part under the same influences, the conception of a realm of shades for the souls is overthrown in the Greek and later Jewish piety. In place of the pallid conceptions of Hades and Sheol appear differentiated views of various districts in the realm of the dead for bad and good, especially for individual groups of men who are arranged on the basis of a variety of points of view

by no means restricted to the ethico-religious. For the shade existence, which the Greeks like the Semites ascribed to the souls in the realm of the dead, is substituted the assumption of the continuance of consciousness with all its content of memory and capacity for experience which formed the premise for the increasingly insistent teaching of retribution, the rewarding of the good and punishing of the bad; is substituted finally on Jewish as on gentile (gentile Christian) soil a resurrection hope of a material sort, which adorns the life in the hereafter with the colors of earthly existence and which takes the material for this substantially from the earth-bound conceptions of the Old Testament and of Judaism regarding the kingdom of God, but which also none the less finds analogies for it in the ancient expectation of a golden age and in those views coming down from the old Greek heritage of the blessed life of the Olympian gods.

If at the end of the third Christian century ideas of survival after death substantially in the sense of a belief in resurrection are firmly established in Judaism, paganism, and Christianity, and if on the other hand the idea of the immortality of the soul, although combatted, also has finally found recognition on Jewish and Christian soil, this is to be traced back to the developments which occurred in Hellenistic Judaism. The discussion which occurs in the Hellenistic books of the Old Testament about belief in immortality and the question of the influence of the idea of immortality upon the late Jewish thought is well known; yet in the discussions to the present time of the problems which have still failed to find their ultimate solution the question has conspicuously receded, to what extent in Hellenistic Judaism itself these ideas were vital, what significance they had in every-day piety.

What was the attitude of Hellenistic Judaism toward the problem of death? That the literary deposit represented different views is known. Not only does the doctrine of immortality stand in contrast to belief in resurrection, but they

both are confronted by an opposition which denies resurrection and immortality and at the same time invokes even biblical tradition. Accordingly, to understand the popular beliefs two things are necessary: on the one hand it must be borne in mind that belief in resurrection and immortality cannot be evaluated only as the continuation of the primitive ideas about Hades and Sheol; and on the other hand, that here it is not a matter of orthodox Old Testament views, rather that partially due to foreign influences a further development of the religion of the Old Testament has taken place, which, as already indicated, finds a parallel in the common development of the religions of the near East and Mediterranean. At the same time, anthropological dualism is to be seen as highly influential in the development of the doctrine of immortality; the dogma of retribution, which from the time of the Maccabee martyrs became a postulate of pious reason, for belief in resurrection. It is clear that belief in resurrection too presupposes a dualism which is, however, not anthropological but cosmological. This explains the fact that finally, in Christianity as in Judaism, both sets of ideas came to abide side by side with practically no problems thereby arising. To be sure, of even greater significance in this situation might well be the psychological fact that the views of further life after death and their particular impress on the belief in resurrection and the doctrine of immortality had by no means the vitality which we might desire to ascribe to them solely on the basis of the literary evidence. Hellenistic-Jewish popular piety should not be isolated by our learned investigations from the religion itself in its environment. In its utterances it is in all respects a part of the ancient development of religion and scarcely goes beyond the limits of the ancient ordinary view of further life after death.

As sources for the popular grasp of the problem of death in Hellenistic Judaism, in addition to the Hellenistic-Jewish writings of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, Pseudepig-

rapha, and Hellenistic-Jewish writers, the rabbis especially demand consideration, whose discussion proves how greatly Hellenistic modes of thought have been adopted by Palestinian Judaism. Over against the evidence which stands at our disposal it must of course be taken into consideration that the later development repressed Hellenistic influences, in part deliberately, in part instinctively, without being able actually to remove them; and that in the rabbinical literature living issues were made of what was accepted or even passed by as a matter of course in the popular piety. To what degree this last was the case is proved by the whole mass of material of the Hellenistic-Jewish grave inscriptions, which as direct evidence, as remains, provide an especially important source for the problem under consideration. Fundamental, however, for Judaism's general attitude to the problem of death are naturally the statements about death in the Old Testament, which, since down to the Maccabean Age belief in resurrection is not found in the Israelitish-Jewish piety, assume more and more the character of weary resignation. At least they could be so understood and frequently were by Hellenistic Judaism. It is true that in the Old Testament death first appears as the natural conclusion of life; pain and pleasure make the man tired to death; thankfully he receives death as the God-appointed end. Old and full of days, as is said of Abraham,[2] of Isaac,[3] of David,[4] of Jehoida,[5] and of Job.[6] Of like nature are the statements Jer. 6: 11 and (in the Septuagint) Dan. 4: 25; 5: 31 (6: 1). About the hymn of the transitoriness of man, Psalm 90, this attitude toward death is classically described:

> The days of our years, their high point is three score years and ten, and if we have much strength four score, and their pride is weariness and trouble; for it is soon gone and we fly away. . .

[2] Gen. 25: 8.
[3] Gen. 35: 29.
[4] 1 Chron. 23: 1; cf. 29: 28.
[5] 2 Chron. 24: 15.
[6] Job 42: 17.

Even the king goes the "way of all the world"[7] and the only consolation for the inevitable fate lies in God's gift of a long blessed life (cf. the promise of the fifth commandment) and in the continuation of life in one's descendants, to whom the blessing of the fathers is transferred. The fact of death itself is commonly veiled by euphemisms, among which the phrase "gathered to his fathers" is especially significant, since it, like the even more significant term of the Septuagint, κοιμᾶσθαι ("to sleep"), leaves room for the entrance of a hope of continued life after death, yet without containing it in itself. At first Israel was of course far removed from such a hope. When in the exilic and postexilic periods the Jewish nation had lost its independence, there developed in Judaism a passion piety (*Passionsfrömmigkeit*) which became immersed in the depths of human suffering (*Leid*) without reaching, however, save for the high points of religious experience in the prophetic tradition and in the Psalms, an explanation of suffering. In this connection the thought of death has received an even greater emphasis. The pious man already feels himself a stranger in the world; his only refuge is God, and even here probably there flashes across his mind occasionally the hope of victory over all suffering, even over death, through the omnipotence of God. The fundamental thought, however, is resignation:

> For we are strangers before thee, and sojourners, as all our fathers were; our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is no hope.[8]

The book of Job shows this attitude especially strongly. Due to the pessimistic view of life death takes on more and more the character of the eagerly desired goal. It is eternal sleep, eagerly desired rest, into which the righteous hope to enter after all the battles of life. And it would have been best not to have been born, or to have died while yet a child:

[7] 1 Kings 2: 2.
[8] 1 Chron. 29: 15.

Why died I not from the womb?
Why did I not give up the ghost when my mother bare me?
Why did the knees receive me?
Or why the breasts, that I should suck?
For now should I have lain down and been quiet;
I should have slept; then had I been at rest,
With kings and counsellors of the earth,
Who built up [waste places] for themselves;
Or with princes that had gold,
Who filled their houses with silver:
Or as a hidden untimely birth I had not been
As infants that never saw the light.
There the wicked cease from troubling;
And there the weary are at rest,
There the prisoners are at ease together;
They hear not the voice of the taskmaster.
The small and the great are there:
And the servant is free from his master.

Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery,
And life unto the bitter in soul;
Who long for death, but it cometh not,
And dig for it more than for hid treasures;
Who rejoice exceedingly,
And are glad when they can find the grave. . .[9]

It is significant how the rabbinical tradition and probably pious Judaism as a whole reinterpret this pessimism:

R. Johanan († 279 A. D.) said, Why has death been decreed against the godless? So long as the godless live they offend God, as is said: Ye have wearied Jehovah with your words Mal. 2:17. But when they are dead they cease offending God, as is said: There the wicked cease from annoying Job 3:17; there they cease offending God. Why has death been decreed against the righteous? So long as the righteous live they have to fight against their (evil) impulse; but when they are dead they have rest; as is said: There those who have exerted themselves with strength rest (so Job 3:17 according to the Midrash); Enough for us was what we have exerted ourselves for.[10]

[9] Job 3: 11-22.
[10] Genesis R. 9 (7a)—Strack und Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, IV, pp. 479f.

Such thoughts evidently lie behind many grave inscriptions, which speak in ever-recurring formulas of rest and peace in the grave and which seek their consolation in the fact that the deceased is rescued from the battle and weariness of life—in all of which, of course, there is no reference at first to the ethical battle against one's own evil impulse. If in all this the philosophic thoughts of antiquity frequently resemble the Jewish formulations, yet for Judaism the religious evaluation of all earthly labor and trouble, all battles and temptations, is characteristically a passion piety, which bestows upon בְּשָׁלוֹם, ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *in pace, in requie, requies animae,* of the grave inscriptions, the character of a religious blessing. In the rest of the grave the pious is safe in God. Nevertheless it is essentially pious resignation which is here under discussion. The prophetic lament lies behind the following:

The righteous ⟨vanisheth⟩, and there is no man who layeth it to heart,
And men of piety die away, no one considering it;
For before the increase of evil the righteous dies away.
He entereth into *peace,* ⟨can⟩ rest in ⟨his bed⟩;
Gone is he, who walketh uprightly, . .[11]

Victory over the fear of death, as this finds expression, for example, in Psalm 55: 5, is also not included. Over against the will of Jehovah, who causes men to die,[12] arise the human hope and petition beseeching deliverance from sickness and death. Such laments and petitions run through, in particular, the so-called sickness psalms of the Old Testament, and at the same time employ as impressive argument the hint that in death all remembrance, even of God, ceases.[13]

The cutting sharpness, the heavy burden of these Old Testament ideas of death, is first overcome by the idea of immortality and belief in resurrection, both of which were

[11] Isa. 57: 1, 2, following Budde's rendering in Kautzsch.
[12] Ps. 90: 3.
[13] Ps. 6: 5.

read into it. How difficult it always was for belief in resurrection to prevail against the comfortlessness of the thought of death is perhaps best revealed by the Septuagint translation of one of the Old Testament passages which are least aware of any eschatological victory over death, viz., Isa. 25: 8: "He will destroy death forever"—as the Masoretic text has it (following Guthe's translation in Kautzsch). Here is shown what the Judaism of the Septuagint read out of the Old Testament: "Death swallowed up mightily." Even if we should have here a gloss in the Hebrew text, the Septuagint in all probability had no copy differing from our Masoretic text; accordingly, the conception of this passage in the oldest Greek translation may be regarded as typical of the attitude of Hellenistic Judaism toward the problem of death. Death is the inevitable fate of all mankind; it swallows them up one and all, pious and godless alike. Accordingly it is no wonder that in spite of the budding eschatological hope the unnerving hopelessness of the Old Testament ideas of death continued to exert a great influence on the actions of Jews in the presence of the fate death entailed, and that against the God-trusting "Nevertheless" of the pious arose a godless resignation which tended to founder and sink in the enjoyment of this life. Even at the grave these voices are not stilled, and here perhaps are to be seen the clearest parallels between rationalistic Judaism and the philosophical skepticism of antiquity. The weary wisdom of Ecclesiastes and the religious skepticism combatted in the Wisdom of Solomon are but the two best known examples of a real emphasis upon this present world, wide-spread especially in Hellenistic Judaism—"Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die," [14] which had already incited an Isaiah to battle. What in his day is perhaps to be conceived as coming from a definite situation—reeling mirth, drunken festivals of sacrifice at the departure of the enemy (Duhm), is found as worldly wisdom in the mouth of the Preacher: "I know

[14] Isa. 22: 13.

that there is nothing ‹ for a man › than to rejoice, and ‹to get good› so long as he lives." [15] In these words we have an average expression of oriental wisdom, which with terrible monotony universally affirms the same thought of the nothingness of human existence. In the so-called "Lay of the Harper" about the transiency of everything earthly, which is first attested about 1450 B. C., it is said as follows:

None cometh (back) from thence, that he might tell us of their (*sc.* the dead) state;
That he might tell what they need; that he might appease our hearts,
Until ye too draw nigh the place, whither they have gone.
Be sprightly to let thy heart forget, that thou wilt (sometime) be made glorious,
Follow thy heart's desire while thou livest.

. . . . . .

Refrain: Celebrate the glad day, and be not weary!
For lo, to none is it permitted to take his goods with him,
Lo, none that is gone thither returneth.[16]

Just as here it is a question of dining-room philosophy (Deipnosophie), so also two and a half millenia later in the famed quatrains of the wise Persian mystic, Omar Khayyam (†1123):

Of this circle in which we now do move
Can I no point of start, no point of end discern,
Nor tells me any whence we came,
Nor knows there any whither next.

O, thou who art but product of the (elements) four and seven (spheres),
And racks thy brain unending about the seven and the four,
Drink wine, for I a thousand times have told thee,
For thee there is no coming back; when thou art gone, gone art thou.[17]

[15] Eccles. 3: 12.

[16] Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte*, 1926, p. 29 [ed. 1909, pp. 198f.]. This song is translated by Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 206.—TRANSLATOR.

[17] Friedrich Rosen, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1926, p. 302. These two quatrains, which do not occur in FitzGerald's classic English version of the Rubaiyat, are discussed in this article, "Zur Textfrage der Vierzeiler Omar's des Zeltmachers," pp. 285-313.—TRANSLATOR.

It is possible to find abundant support for such ideas in the Hellenistic Age in grave inscriptions: "I was nothing, I am nothing, and thou who livest: Eat, drink, enjoy thy fun, come!" So it occurs with numerous variations. From the transitoriness of life, from the change of good fortune, from delusive hopes the dead man is snatched away: With a sigh of relief: *actum est,* "it is finished," he departs the circle of this life without taking anything with him save the material of which the body is made. Life's content and its undoing are locked up in the same things: *Balnea, vina, Venus, qui corpora corrumpunt, sed vitam faciunt balnea, vina, Venus.* Judaism falls into the same skepticism, the same emphasis upon the present life, which finds expression in such pagan grave inscriptions:

> They (*sc.* the ungodly) said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright, Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no remedy: neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave. For we are born at all adventure, and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been. . .[18]
>
> And yet when ye (*sc.* righteous) die, the sinners speak over you: As we die so die the righteous . . . from henceforth we are equal. . . Behold, they too have died, and henceforth forever shall they see no light.[19]

It is difficult to say to what an extent in practice the popular piety of Judaism was influenced by this teaching. That such disorganizing tendencies made themselves felt at least in the Jewish diaspora is hardly to be doubted. It would appear possible to appraise a grave inscription from the Jewish catacomb at Monteverde in Rome as direct evidence of this tendency. Müller-Bees in their edition of 1919 [20] render it:

> Lamentation for the dead, wedding
> is the fate of all creation.[21]

[18] Wisdom of Solomon 2: 1f.

[19] Enoch 102: 6ff.

[20] *Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom,* 1919, No. 142.

[21] *Totenklage, Hochzeit*
*ist das Schicksal aller Schöpfung.*

And if the mass of Hellenistic-Jewish grave inscriptions is looked over their barrenness with regard to any positive expressions of Jewish faith becomes especially evident. Only very rarely is belief in resurrection implied or attested. Other forms of confession are also wanting, with the result that in the case of many grave inscriptions only with insecurity, only with the aid of remaining Jewish symbols, and sometimes not at all, can it be determined whether they are actually Jewish graves. Furthermore arises the necessity, so far as grave symbolism is concerned, of viewing Judaism in its religious development in immediate contact with the pagan and Christian environment. To be sure, the contact in every age is not to be seen in the same place. While Hellenistic Judaism conformed in speech and style, in the architecture and posture of the graves, to the age, the later development led to an elimination or at least to a repression of the pagan speech, but for the first time took over definitely the ancient pagan symbolism. While, for example, in the Jewish catacombs at Monteverde in Rome the specifically Jewish symbols, seven-branched candlestick, horn, lulab, ethrog, are commonly employed, the Jewish cemetery on the Palatine, in use until the nineteenth century, shows in the newer monuments the influence of specifically pagan grave symbolism, as it was taken over also by Christianity, especially in the Renaissance and the Age of Enlightenment. Among these symbols, which must be regarded indeed simply as ingredients of the Western culture, in which even Judaism has in every age participated, the torches, winged hour-glass, the plucked rose, etc., give definite expression to the ancient ideas of death. The crown, which already appears on Hellenistic-Jewish graves, is difficult to explain. It could indicate the completed course of life, or the participation of the dead in the meal of the blessed, or even the crowning of the victor;[22] indeed it may be purely ornamental. That the gaze of the Jew at the grave was essentially

[22] Cf. Rev. 2: 10 and Ginza R., ed. Lidzbarski, p. 386.

retrospective is indicated as well by the lament which mourns the untimely death, especially of children and young people, as by the fact that the tombs (Grabmäler) were memorials (*Denk*mäler), which in retrospect to the pious, righteous, and successful life in the family, in the circle of friends, and in public life celebrated the dead and sought to insure him an ἀθανασία ἐν μνήμῃ ("immortality in memory"). Thus the dead man is praised as a good soul who was a friend to all;[23] a woman is called *Honor dei,* because she preserved virtue and faith and adhered righteously to the law.[24] The memory of the righteous remains a blessing,[25] and a good name—the preservation of which all Semites considered a life and death matter, as, for example, Phœnician votive inscriptions show—is remembered by the surviving generation. Along with such inscriptions which are indifferent with regard to any hope for future life, which make up the bulk of Jewish burial inscriptions, is found also the denial of the hope. This occurs in the following oft-repeated formula: "Console thyself, no one is immortal!"—a phrase probably to be understood as the salutation of the dead to those left behind. A similar word of greeting reads: "Be of good courage, farewell." This word also is best seen as a parting salutation in the mouth of the deceased,[26] and at any rate excludes the idea of further life after death.

In spite of this orientation of antiquity—including Judaism—to the present world, the problem of death was by no means sidetracked. Of course the effort was openly made in many ways to forget death, yet the Hellenistic Age was influenced as scarcely any other age has ever been by the note *Memento mori: Carpe diem!*[27] Each day which thou hast spent without delight is eternal loss.[28] Work while it is day;

[23] Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres,* II, 1927, No. 4856.
[24] *Ibid.,* 4932.
[25] *Ibid.,* 4984; Müller-Bees, *op. cit.,* No. 118.
[26] Müller-Bees, *op. cit.,* Nos. 49, 124, 179, 125.
[27] Horace, *Carm.* I, xi, 8.
[28] Omar Khayyam.

the night cometh when no man can work [29]—so all the admonitions run, although they reveal the greatest diversity of ethical tendencies. To the enjoyment of life as well as to the desire to achieve great deeds the thought of death has been for every age a mighty spur. The wise, death presses "again into life, and teaches to use it." [30] To be sure, it can also have an injurious, paralyzing effect. That the Hellenistic Age suffered in part such a paralysis we can discover from many witnesses. In this vein Lucretius [31] says that the fear of Acheron disturbs human life from its very foundations, suffuses all things with the black shadow of death, and leaves no pleasure uncontaminated. Men were everywhere under the spell of the idea of death. The streets of graves before the cities' gates cried out the warning of death amid the noise of every-day life as well as in the quiet of the hours of rest.[32] At the banquets of the rich, following the Egyptian custom, the skeleton was always present as a disagreeable, untimely guest at the festal board, and it remained but a vain self-deception when, to allay the horror of death, the departure from life was compared to the breaking up of a meal. Nor could the attempts of philosophy through parables and pictures or through considerations of logic to draw the sting of death succeed with the masses. And least of all with Judaism where since the Hellenistic Age the idea of death was joined to the doctrine of retribution. This connection appears to have been not entirely unknown even to the pagan world. In line with this Cicero, in the fourth oration against Cataline,[33] cites Cæsar in a debate about the death penalty, which the latter condemns on the ground that death was not thought of by the immortal gods as a punishment, but as the natural end of life or as rest from weariness and sufferings. Accordingly by all means permit criminals to live; take life from them and you have

[29] John 9: 4.
[30] Goethe, *Hermann und Dorothea*, ix, 47.
[31] *de Rerum Natura*, iii, 37ff.
[32] Varro, *de Lingua Latina*, vi, 49.
[33] iv, 7.

freed them from the sufferings of both soul and body and have thus made any punishment of their crime impossible. It is a question whether Cæsar here simply shares the common conception or whether from the negative phrasing it is not to be concluded that even here the view was discernible that death is a punishment for man. In any case this thought was known to Judaism and gained increasing significance in the Hellenistic Age. Since the old national religion had become transfused to a more individualistic piety, redemption (das Heil) came not only to be looked upon collectively, as a possession of the nation, but hoped for for the individual. Thereby the thought of death, however, took on an entirely different significance for Jewish piety. The Deuteronomic historiography had established the doctrine of retribution so far as the history of Israel and Judah was concerned. The piety of the Psalter wrestled with the problem of retribution for the individual. Both Job and the Psalter prove that death and sickness were looked upon as punishment for sin. The dogmatic foundation of this popular theory of retribution finds its first expression in the Hellenistic Age with the point of departure the fall of Adam or the disobedience of Eve, but the thought of individual responsibility emerges at least in Wisdom of Solomon 2: 24. Above all, in connection with Ezekiel 18: 20, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die," the rabbis established the idea. R. Ammi (*ca.* 300) said: "There is no death without sin and no sufferings (punishments) without guilt." [34] The question whether also sinless men (the patriarchs, Elijah, Hezekiah, also Moses and Aaron) die was warmly debated in connection with Ecclesiastes 9:2: "There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked." The notion of translation was known, but it was also asserted that four men had died on "the advice of the serpent," therefore without their own guilt. Eventually the doctrine of the second death overcame the difficulty. All men were subject to earthly death; the second death, how-

[34] Shabbat 55a.

ever, that is, exclusion from the resurrection, remaining in the grave, or even the condemnation to eternal damnation, remained the punishment of the godless. The idea that death came into the world through the sin of Adam and hovers now as destiny over men, and the doctrine of retribution, were successively added. So it is said in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch 54: 15:

> For though Adam first sinned and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him, each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.

Likewise through the addition, "for that all sinned," Paul [35] joined individual responsibility to the conception of inherited death. However, to the idea of retribution he gave the strongest expression in the statement which is to be understood as the product of Jewish thought and which has dominated every form of Christianity in its lasting influence: "The wages of sin is death."

Just as here from the power of belief in resurrection power comes to clear away all attempts toward veiling, all sophistry, and all self-deception, so already in late Judaism the budding belief in resurrection comes to grips with the intensive concern about the problem of death. To be sure, evidence for the popular dissemination of belief in resurrection is scanty. On Jewish gravestones it is met, apart from a few uncertain hints, chiefly in the Regina inscription of the Jewish catacomb at Monteverde, where it is grounded in virtuousness. Another inscription of the same catacomb would provide at any rate a direct expression of belief in resurrection, provided the meaning, "May God awaken him," is correct. In the inscriptions of Tell el Yehudieh in Egypt is found the conception, attested by Jubilees 23: 31, that while the body in the grave becomes the property of that which perishes, the soul tarries with the saints in the next world. Since the Jewish grave inscriptions

[35] Rom. 5: 12.

which have come down to us are almost entirely from a period in which belief in resurrection had already permeated Judaism, this belief can be searched for behind many inscriptions which do not have it. Thus an inscription like the following from Monteverde: "Friends, I await you here," can well be understood in this sense, even though on the basis of pagan analogies and older Jewish conceptions the allusion to the grave as the last resting place is perhaps more probable. That the notion of the rest and peace of the grave, which dominates the inscriptions, could advance beyond the idea of security from danger in God to belief in resurrection has already been pointed out. If, however, on the whole no clear evidence for belief in resurrection is presented in Jewish graves, this cannot have been regarded as a characteristic of Jewish piety either by the gentiles or by the Jews themselves. Nevertheless, that in Judaism belief in resurrection and eternal life or in the immortality of the soul became *the* solution of the problem of death for Hellenistic as well as for rabbinical Judaism is clearly attested especially by the development of rabbinical theology in this age. Rabbi Simai, who belongs to the fifth generation of the Tannaim, is already maintaining:

> There is no section (in the scripture), in which the revival of the dead would not be evidenced; it is only that we do not have the power to understand it (in this sense).[36]

Surely this was not scholarly invention, but a pious popular point of view. Furthermore the material for the theoretical proof of the resurrection which has come down to us from the rabbis probably does not originate primarily in the learned discussions but rather in pious employment with the Scriptures. Thus from a series of Old Testament passages belief in resurrection was read out, or rather was read in. The every-day meaning of the Hebrew קום and the Greek *ἀνίστημι* could always be replaced by an interpretation as if it were here used in the

[36] Sifrè Deut. 32, 2 §306 (132a)—Strack und Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, I, p. 895.

sense of a sacral term for the resurrection, as occurred, for example, with *ἀνίστημι* in the rabbinical exegesis of Deuteronomy 31: 16 and in numerous passages of the Septuagint. The familiar figure of death as sleep could, contrary to the meaning of the passages where originally only awaking from natural sleep was referred to, lead to resurrection. Even the words "Unto the earth shalt thou return" in Genesis 3: 19 were conceived in the sense of a return to the land of the living. "I kill and I make alive," [37] and other passages, in which Jehovah as lord of life and death, could also be understood in the sense of the gradually spreading new belief. Still closer at hand was it to understand the Old Testament legends of reappearances in the sense of an anticipatory or symbolic solution of the problem of death; and finally, in addition to this, a series of arguments for the resurrection, handed down from the rabbis, show all the characteristics of popular thinking: As the man is refreshed in sleep, so the soul is restored in the sleep of death.[38] As the womb receives and gives forth, so Sheol.[39] As God created men out of nothing, so more than before can he create them again from dust.[40] As a broken glass can be restored through blowing, so also can man (Gen. 2: 7).[41] Finally, a syllogism which appears to be a contrast to the already quoted skeptical grave inscriptions: "If those who were not live, should not those who were live again?" [42]

This gradual unfolding of the belief in resurrection within Judaism goes hand in hand with a metamorphosis of the Jewish religion as a whole, which begins, at least in certain aspects, to assume the shape of a religion of salvation in the Hellenistic Age. Thus the intrusion of sacramental ideas into the Jewish piety may be observed. Above all the act of turning to Judaism is looked upon as a new birth. According to

[37] Deut. 32: 39.
[38] Midr. Ps. 25 §2 (105b).
[39] Sanh. 92a.
[40] Sanh. 91a.
[41] Gen. R. 14 (10c); cf. Midr. Ps. 2 §11 (15a).
[42] Sanh. 91a., Cf. Strack und Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 895ff.

Yebamot 48b R. Jose (*ca.* 150) said: "A proselyte who turns to Judaism is like a newborn child." The little Talmud tract on proselytes attribute the same view to R. Jehuda, a contemporary of R. Jose. But at any rate the comparison occurs very frequently. Here the comparison with a child either alludes to freedom from sin and guilt, or the phrase is employed in connection with legal questions, especially those having to do with marriage. This figure, or the one essentially like it of the new creature, was employed even of Israelites themselves.

> The rabbinical scholars spoke of such a new creation under three heads: *viz.*, through the cure of his infirmities, through the removal of his difficulties and dangers, and through the forgiveness of his sins a man experiences a renewal in his physical endowment or in his external circumstances or in his relationship to God.[43]

That these ideas were understood in a sacramental sense, or at least could have been, seems to be attested by grave inscriptions in which the proselyte is considered a neophyte or in which his age is reckoned from his turning to Judaism, therefore from his new birth. If, nevertheless, it cannot be shown independently that sacramental ideas were joined with proselyte baptism and circumcision, the development of the earliest Christian practice of baptism appears to allow such a conclusion regarding Judaism to be drawn *a posteriori*. A religion of salvation includes of necessity sacramental notions; thus when Judaism was transformed into a religion of salvation it too adopted sacramental views.

To me this seems particularly to apply in the case of a series of picture-words, partly of mythological origin, which became at once within Hellenistic Judaism the medium of expression for sacramental ideas of salvation. Tree of life, wood of life, spring of life, and other figurative expressions due to mythology belong in this connection. In this connection the motif of the waters of death and of the path of salvation

[43] Strack und Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 421.

whereby these latter are overcome are of especial note. At different points in the history of the oriental and Jewish-Christian religions this motif may be seen and its unfolding into the symbolic expression of victory over death and belief in salvation again and again observed.

The psychological premise of the motif of the path over the waters of death is the fact, everywhere possible, of the ability of river or ocean to interrupt travel and the primitive belief of being able to overcome this obstacle through miraculous power and use of magic. In this secular form the motif is found in the popular tradition of all nations and ages, especially in fairy tales. In the realm of the myth, notably the sun myth, the well-known passages in the tenth tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic is to be recalled, which can serve as an especially clear setting forth of the motif. It reads:

Sabitu [*i. e.*, the female wine merchant] says to him, to Gilgamesh:
" There hath never been passage, Gilgamesh,
And none from the days of old hath ever crossed the sea.
Shamash the hero crossed the sea, but except for Shamash who shall cross it?
Difficult is the crossing, painful the way thither.
And deep the waters of death, which lie before it.
Where, O Gilgamesh, wilt thou cross the sea?
When thou comest to the waters of death, what wilt thou do? "

The mythical conceptions which are here indicated are those, wide-spread in the ancient world, of the earth, which is completely surrounded by the sea, the waters of death; of Paradise which lies beyond these waters; and of the sun, who alone has the power to cross the sea. In Egypt, as in India, the myth is apparently to be presupposed. In the Egyptian poem of the man weary of life, it is said:

He who yonder is will surely stand in the galley of the sun, and, standing there, will cause that which is choicest to be bestowed upon the temple. He who yonder is will surely be a man of knowledge, who has not been thwarted and who petitions Re whene'er he speaks.

And Sutta 5, 9 of the Samyutta Nikāya gives an unmythological turn to the motif, in the sense of Buddhist salvation: "How many bonds must have been overcome to gain the name 'one who has crossed the flood?'" Here this "crosser of the waters of death" has become an honorific title of the saved. The following passage from Sutta 9 evidences the mythological character a little stronger:

> He who shunning error constantly increases in wisdom is of good heart, is completely unfettered, lives alone in the wilderness, never grows weary—he shall make his way across the realm of death and attain to the saving bank.

Even if it is not here possible to establish the historical connections which join the Egyptian conceptions to those of Mesopotamia and India, it is nevertheless clear that if the motif occurs also in the Old Testament, even though it be in pallid form, it is there dependent upon the Babylonian conceptions, especially those of the Gilgamesh Epic. Of especial interest is the passage Psalm 18: 4, where, as verse 16 makes plain, the conception of the streams of death is probably present. Similar conceptions occur in other parts of the Psalter as well, for example, Psalm 69: 1, 2, where the distress of the pious is described under the figure of the deep waters. But so far as we can see this conception nowhere became effective in the Old Testament. Such is also the evidence of the Septuagint, which, precisely in Psalm 18, turns aside characteristically to other mythological motifs, the snare and net motif and that of the birth pangs of death. This motif does not become prominent again before the time of Hellenistic Judaism, in the probably half gnostic-Christian collection of the Odes of Solomon. Here it is in a form thoroughly worked out and rich in cult significance, which infers a development through a long line of traditions. The thirty-ninth ode of this collection of psalms has been frankly superscribed: The way over the streams, or even: The waters of death. It reads:

Mighty rivers are the power of the Lord;
Which carry headlong those who despise him,
Entangle their path,
Prevent their crossing over,
Sweep away their bodies and destroy their souls;
For they are swifter than lightning and more rapid.

But he who crosses them in faith is not moved;
He who walks upon them without blemish does not shudder.
For the sign of the Lord is in them
And becomes the way for those who cross in the name of the Lord.

Put on, therefore, the name of the Most High
And know him;
So go ye cross without danger,
Since the streams obey you.

The Lord bridged them by his word;
He trod them and crossed them on foot.
His footsteps stand undestroyed in the water,
And are as a beam driven solidly home.

On this side and on that the waves pile up,
Yet the footsteps of our Lord remain uneffaced and undestroyed.
Thus is the way made ready for those
Who cross over after him,
Who follow the course of his faith
And honor greatly his name.
Hallelujah.

These opening words stand in close relation to the passage, Psalm 18: 15-17, where it is also God who sends the waters and who can rescue from them. At the same time the steadfast ethical monotheism of the Old Testament is preserved and the dualistic conception belonging to the motif of the waters of death subordinated. These destroying masses of water are the power of the Lord. So they become of no menace to the pious, the righteous. The hostile forces of the world must serve the Lord for the punishment of the godless, and the name of the Lord protects the righteous from them. But in the last

verses the mythology of salvation, which at any rate depends upon dualistic conceptions, breaks through. Beyond the monotheism of the Old Testament, beyond the creator God, it leads to belief in a saviour God who has first obtained redemption, salvation, for those who put on his name. Here we have Christian views, of course in a form bearing a strong mythological impress. Like the sun—for this is surely the astral background of this conception—the saviour God strode across the waves, presumably without leaving a trace behind. On the contrary, however, his traces remain upon the waters. This idea is all the more noteworthy when in Psalm 77: 16-19, where the conception of God striding across the waters of death is clearly imprinted, precisely the opposite is said: "Thy way was in the sea, and thy paths in the great waters and thy footsteps were not known." If, accordingly to the thirty-ninth Ode of Solomon, his footsteps remain undestroyed in the water and are like a solidly implanted beam, this conception is a consequence of the cult (*kultisch bedingt*). Here the idea of imitation appears, which is represented, as in the *Acts of Thomas,* as walking in the footsteps of the Lord. The peculiar impress of the idea of imitation constitutes the religious peculiarity of this ode. At the same time it does not appear to be a question of imitation in any ethical sense. Indeed it remains altogether uncertain whether there is here any thought of earthly life, but that on the contrary, whether instruction is not being given about the path taken by the soul after death. Certainly this would best correspond to the figure of the way over the waters of death. The Hymn of the Pearl in the *Acts of Thomas* and the Prayer of Cyriac, which occurs in the Syriac version of the *Passio Cyriaci et Julittae,* provide a direct parallel. Both of these mutually related traditions go back to a Jewish messianic tale in which the Messiah-Saviour saves himself from manifold difficulties and thereby reveals the path to deliverance. Use of the hymn or of the prayer is said to transfer to the imprisoned Thomas or to the martyr

Cyriac respectively its latent power for rescue and salvation. The latter, especially, through the recitation of the history of the Saviour, when in the presence of death gains for himself the power to force his way through death and with Christ —here is, of course, a Christian application of the material [44] —and the saved to enter the gate of the Lord. If in both these traditions the *mimesis,* imitation of the Saviour, consists solely in the recitation, yet in the background is the necessity for ceremonial or ethical imitation. The situation is similar in the thirty-ninth Ode of Solomon. Here, too, walking in the footsteps of the Lord is no longer a ceremonial or ethical act in earthly life, but the putting on of the name of the Most High; Gnosis and Pistis presuppose that after death one succeeds in crossing the waters of death. At the same time the strong anthropomorphising of the scene, the actual walking on the water, the permanence of the footsteps—all of which is alien to the myth as it is to the Old Testament—appears to be the reworking of a legend which has already come to be understood in a magical and sacramental sense. Similar legends are known to us from the rabbinical traditions as well as from the New Testament ones about Jesus, and at least the motif of Peter, striving to imitate and saved by Jesus from sinking,[45] reveals the possibility of understanding these tales as deliverance-legends. The typical story, however, of rescue from the peril of water is the Old Testament tale of Noah, which finds further expression in Christianity and Islam. And probably, especially in Hellenistic Judaism, it has been linked with ideas of salvation. The religious idea has been joined to Jewish-Hellenistic rationalism in the teachings in Wisdom of Solomon 14 in a unique manner, where in contrast to the idol made out of a piece of wood, helpless itself and vainly called upon, God is represented as ruler and rescuer of the wood ship. Here it is said:

[44] Cf. Gressmann, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* art. "Das Gebet des Kyriakos," xx, 1921, p. 23ff.

[45] Matt. 14: 29-31.

One preparing himself to sail, and about to pass through the raging waves, calleth upon a piece of wood more rotten than the vessel that carrieth him. For verily desire of gain devised that, and the workman built it by his skill. But thy providence, O Father, governeth it: for thou hast made a way in the sea, and a safe path in the waves, showing that thou canst save from all danger; yea, though a man went to sea without art. Nevertheless, thou wouldest not that the works of thy wisdom should be idle, and therefore do men commit their lives to a small piece of wood, and passing the rough sea in a weak vessel are saved. For in the old time also, when the proud giants perished, the hope of the world governed by thy hand escaped in a weak vessel, and left to all ages a seed of generation. For blessed is the wood whereby righteousness cometh. But that which is made with hands is cursed, as well it, as he that made it: he, because he made it; and it, because, being corruptible, it was called god.[46]

Into the polemic against idolatry, praying to a wooden idol made with hands, the legend of the rescue of Noah is inserted as an instance to the contrary of the omnipotence of God, who appears here as rescuer and saviour, while the wood of the ark receives a sacramental, holy character as the means of salvation. Thus verse 7, " Blessed is the wood whereby righteousness cometh," is to be understood solely in its Jewish context. The conception of righteousness is the Jewish one. If the pious Noah sank, God's righteousness was violated; the wood, that is, the raft, was the means whereby it was preserved. Accordingly it is blessed in the preceding verse. Moreover, Noah is designated, clearly on the basis of Jewish tradition, in the New Testament in 2 Peter 2: 5, as a preacher (herald) of righteousness, and in the New Testament passage in which the story of Noah is employed as a prototype of salvation (1 Peter 3: 20), there is no mention of the wood. Rather it is baptism and accordingly water which are thought of, which latter is clearly represented in verse 20 as the waters of death, the crossing of which is ensured by the rescue; while according to verse 21, on the contrary, the water itself appears as the means of the cleansing and rescue. The water bears, accordingly, so to speak, the

[46] Wisdom of Solomon 14: 1-8.

character of a Cainitic symbol; it is the water of death, yet salvation could no more take place without it than without the betrayer Judas or without the pillory of the cross. In the sun myth also this double character of the water is of import. While in the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic the waters of death signify an obstacle in the way of the sun hero, the water of the heavenly ocean in the Egyptian hymn in praise of Amon Re is a prerequisite for the voyage of the sun ship. The hostile dragon attempts to make the voyage of the sun bark impossible by drinking up the heavenly ocean. Of course, in Jewish tradition the wood of the ship is the means of rescue, and therefore becomes the symbol of salvation. In this aspect the Noah story occurs in the enumeration of the wonderful works of Wisdom in Israel's history, in Wisdom of Solomon 10:4:

> For whose cause [that is, on account of Cain or of the sins of his descendants] the earth being drowned with the flood, wisdom again preserved it, and directed the course of the righteous in a piece of wood of small value.

So it was natural that Christian typology too found in the ark of Noah, as the wood which saved, an indication of the cross, and saw in it, precisely as did Judaism, a symbol of belief in salvation. The same aspect has maintained itself in Islamic tradition. Thus in the Mesnevi of the Sheik Mewlana Dschelal ed din Rumi it is said:

> O, mayest thou . . . preserve my soul, as the ship of Noah, that my eye and ear and conscience may be free from the flood of too subtle reasoning.

According to a passage in the "Rosegarden of Sadi," Noah himself becomes the rescuer as God's messenger:

> What calamity threatens the wall of faith, whose stay is God's messenger; what fear of surging billows is his, for whom Noah is pilot?

Of especial significance, however, in our present discussion is the representation of Noah in the early Christian art of the

catacombs, which is here as in other matters clearly dependent upon Jewish tradition. In the art of the catacombs Noah is the type of man rescued by God from the waters of death. Along with this he represents belief in salvation in the eschatological sense, *i. e.*, of belief in the resurrection. This understanding of the story of Noah as an intimation of the resurrection may have been received by Christianity from Judaism. Rabbinical Judaism strove according to the cited word of Rabbi Simai to find a proof of the resurrection in each section [47] of the scripture. The stories of deliverance of the Old Testament tradition—and of these the story of Noah in particular—acquire significance in their own right as a result of the victory over the problem of death, because for late Judaism they had come to be the media of an almost sacramental belief in salvation. The employment of the Noah motif in the representations of the catacombs may also be referred to the familiar view of antiquity of the voyage to the next world. Thus, for example, in the San Paolo fuori le mure church, in the Via Ostiensis in Rome, there is the burial tablet of $\overline{\text{dns}}$ Teoballus $\overline{\text{eps}}$ Hostiensis, on which the deceased is represented in the attitude of prayer in the ship. That at the same time the Noah type retains its influence seems to be attested by grave slabs from the Roman catacombs, where a dove with a (palm) branch in its beak as a symbol of peace is represented on the ship. Dölger [48] refers also to the Egyptian representations of the gods of the dead of Memphis on board the ship (p. 284). At any rate, the words *in pace* of the inscriptions, or the dove with the branch of peace, show that in all of this type the entrance into blessed rest is to be understood in the sense of the Christian belief in salvation. The numerous Jewish grave inscriptions, already mentioned, with the formula of peace can also perhaps assume in this connection a more definite meaning. The employment of the Noah type in the catacombs is on the

[47] *I. e.*, Parashah, weekly lesson.—TRANSLATOR.
[48] *Sol Salutis*, 1925, pp. 272ff.

whole evidence for the fact that the metamorphosis of Judaism into a religion of salvation has been of positive significance in the development of a hope for a blessed hereafter.

To be sure, it will not always be easy to determine the precise content of such consoling reflections. Indeed, where speculations of a mystical-gnostic piety made their way into Judaism along with ideas about salvation, even a spiritualizing and sublimation of the notions of life after death seem frequently to result. While these can indicate a dissolution of the eschatological ideas of resurrection, judgment, and eternal life, they include at any rate a unique intellectual solution of the problem of death which we may call "gnostic." The linking together of the two concepts, *Gnosis* and *Zoe,* is especially characteristic of this trend. This association occurs above all in the Jewish Wisdom Literature. Thus the Proverbs contain a whole series of sayings about life which are to be included in this connection, and regarding which it is not certain whether under life the absolute good of eternal life is to be understood, or whether the sayings refer only to the earthly sphere and were perhaps intended of the true life of the wiseman. Due to the fact that the figures of the tree of life and of the wellspring of life are here employed, the matter is but further complicated, since for late Judaism, through the mythus which is behind these figures, the contact with the sacramental religion of salvation seems to be established; but the content of the sayings, at least in some of the cases, cannot reach beyond the sphere of the earthly. Thus among others it is said: "A wholesome tongue is a tree of life." [49] "Desire for the good is a tree of life." [50] "From the fruit of the righteous groweth a tree of life." [51] "Instruction guards the righteous paths to life." [52] "The works of righteousness create life." [53] "In the way of righteousness is life." [54] "Ways of

[49] Prov. 15: 4.
[50] Prov. 13: 12. The Masoretic text reads differently.
[51] Prov. 11: 30.
[52] Prov. 10: 17. [53] Prov. 10: 16. [54] Prov. 12: 28.

life are the thoughts of an understanding man." [55] "Akin to wisdom are fear of the Lord, riches, honor, and life." [56] There is a temptation to arrange all these statements in the compass of a sober and practical worldly wisdom, which would be oriented purely to life here and would have entirely eliminated from its purview the problem of death and the hereafter. Indeed a few sayings which employ the figure of the wellspring of life seem to justify this meaning: "Understanding is a wellspring of life unto him that hath it." [57] "The law of the wise is a fountain of life;" [58] or, as is said in the Wisdom of Sirach, "The knowledge of a wiseman shall abound like a flood; and his counsel as a fountain of life." [59] Precisely in this last citation the figurative interpretation of all the essentially similar utterances seems to be suggested. Nevertheless the transcendent interpretation probably cannot be utterly excluded. If it is said, "The law of the Lord is a fountain of life," [60] the concept of life, at any rate in these words, is to be taken in the absolute sense, and perhaps, at least for pious Jews, in such a saying the key is given to the other sayings which have such a this-worldly ring. If Wisdom of Solomon sees immortality grounded in wisdom or in the recognition of the power of God, of course this does not mean that without further ceremony the popular belief in resurrection is given; rather, we shall have to see perhaps here and there even in the similar utterances of Proverbs a spiritualizing of the eschatological conceptions, which substitutes eternal life for resurrection and claims this endowment of Gnosis and Pistis as a present possession.

Chronologically the Wisdom Literature belongs in the prerabbinic period of Jewish religious history; really it took definite shape as the result of the adjustment of Judaism to

[55] Prov. 15: 24.
[56] Prov. 22: 4.
[57] Prov. 16: 22.
[58] Prov. 13: 14.
[59] Ecclus. 21: 13.
[60] Prov. 14: 27—LXX.

Hellenism. This explains the variety and contradictory character of the sayings regarding fate after death. On the other hand, all the implied lines seem to converge in the same point: Judaism has worked its way to an ever surer conviction and eventually found the ultimate solution of the problem of death in belief in the resurrection. This solution received its stereotyped formulation in the Old Testament benediction, which, already common in rabbinical days, won the day as the universal funerary benediction of Judaism: *tehi nafscho zerura bizeror hahaim,* "May thy soul be bound up in the bundle of life."[61] This saying underwent an interesting development in the history of Jewish piety, to which brief mention may be made in conclusion. This saying, which comes from an Old Testament story of a distinctly secular character—it has to do with the scene between David and Abigail, Nabal's wife—was used by the rabbis as proof for the abode of the souls of the righteous in the seventh heaven, that is, in the immediate presence of God;[62] as a benediction for the scribe it occurs among the colophon formulæ of the Masoretes in tenth century manuscripts, but might well have been so used much earlier. As a funerary benediction the verse first occurs, so far as I know, in the second century A. D. in a Hebrew inscription in the Christian cemetery of Antinoë in Egypt. The phrase makes its appearance as a grave inscription more frequently in Hebrew grave inscriptions of Italian Jewish communities from the ninth century on, and has become today throughout the world practically *the* confession of Judaism on graves. This development is of real significance, for it is typical of the whole problem we have been considering. Judaism has shared in all phases of the struggle with the problem of death in the Hellenistic Age. In common with the religions of the West it found the solution in belief in the resurrection. The adjustment on Jewish soil is of especial significance, for here the new belief

[61] Cf. 1 Sam. 25: 29.

[62] Ḥagigah 12b; Strack und Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, III, p. 532.

came at first into conflict with religious tradition. With the solution of the problem of death through acceptance of belief in resurrection Judaism underwent a fundamental metamorphosis: Under the burden of the death fate, as this became keenly felt in the Hellenistic period, Judaism passed from a happy religion of this world to become a religion of hope. That it thereby took over an alien element, those facts with which *Religionsgeschichte* is concerned are sufficient to show. As a religion of place, of cultus, and of holy life postexilic Judaism became a spiritual force in the Hellenistic world. The eschatological piety of the prophets seemed completely repressed. Under the impress of the problem of death eschatology received a new lease of life in the form of belief in the resurrection, itself a result of foreign influences. Thereby Judaism offered the Hellenistic Age the fulfilment of what the people longed for, and thus became the universal religion, which in its influence upon Islam and Christianity, as in its peculiar insistence upon belief in God, in no small degree determined the religious development of mankind. The conquest of the problem of death was effected, at any rate largely, within the development of Jewish religion, and its spread in Islam and in Christianity is to be traced back to the influence of Judaism's strength of faith.

# THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TOMORROWS[1]

HOMER P. RAINEY

President Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.

THE Baptist young people of America are looking toward the future. Young people have always looked toward the future, and this fact is one of the most fortunate circumstances in human history. Old men look backward and dream dreams. Young men look forward and see visions. Old men are conservative and fear to make changes and readjustments. Old men become cautious and lose their courage. Young men are dissatisfied with things as they find them, and are eager and courageous to build a new world. Young men are daring and oftentimes reckless.

If there was ever a time in the history of religion when a vision of a new world was needed, that time is today. This is no time to look backward. An old era is passing and a new one is struggling to be born. This is no time to lie on our beds and dream dreams, and to speak in platitudes and to sound old shibboleths. A whole social order is crumbling before our eyes. A leading contemporary philosopher expresses our problem in these words:

> The trouble that certain people may take to ignore the serious crisis through which Western society is passing today will be in vain. The symptoms are only too evident, and the most obstinate renegade is secretly and continuously conscious of them in his own heart. Little by little ever larger areas of European society become the field of a strange phenomenon which might be called "vital disorientation."

This disorientation has become almost universal.

Someone has said that "we possess orientation when there does not exist in our minds the least doubt of the positions of north and south, the ultimate goals which serve the

[1] Address before The Northern Baptist Convention, Washington, May 27, 1933.

purpose of ideal indicative points for the guidance of our faculty of action and of our movements." We possess disorientation when we are not sure of our points of reference, and when our ultimate goals are obscured. We are in a state of disorientation today. A contemporary writer characterizes our situation in these words:

> Let us imagine a moment of transition during which the great goals that yesterday furnished our landscape with so definite an architecture have been deprived of their luster, of their attractive power, and of their authority over us, while at the same time those that are destined to replace them have not yet acquired complete clarity of outline and competent vigor of growth. At such a season the landscape in the neighborhood of the observer seems to break up, vacillate and quake in all directions: his steps, too, will be vacillating, for his cardinal points are oscillating and becoming obliterated and the very roads beneath his feet are melting away in serpentine undulations as though in flight before him. Such is the situation with which Western existence is confronted today. The system of values by which its activity was regulated thirty years ago has lost its convincing character, its attractive force and its imperative vigor. The man of the West is undergoing a process of radical disorientation because he no longer knows by what star he is to guide his life.

If anyone doubts that we are living in an age of utter confusion let him consider some of the conflicts of the present generation. Let us be specific. Consider the battle that is waging over capitalism. Only a short decade ago it was little short of high treason to question the sacredness of the capitalistic system. Today it is being challenged in every quarter and the mass of men are not so sure as they were ten years ago that the traditional system of capitalism is the best type of economic organization. Consider the present upheaval in the governmental systems of the world. Fifteen years ago no one believed that the present dictatorships in Russia, Italy, and Germany could be possible. And certainly in our own country no one dared question the eternal rightness of democracy. Think of what we have witnessed from this Capitol in the last two months. We believe what has hap-

pened only because we have seen it with our own eyes. Consider again the collapse of moral standards and the present conflict over moral values. Go into any modern art gallery and experience the shock that awaits you. Talk with almost anyone you meet who will discuss religion and theology honestly, and observe the vagueness of their religious concepts, and the instability of their faith.

Men, today, have lost confidence in the concepts and institutions of the old order. That old era was characterized by several fundamental concepts: (1) It was dominated by the rise of the scientific method and its application to the production of wealth. It has been a marvelous age of material progress. There is nothing to compare with it in the history of civilization. Its achievements have been so significant that almost every other interest of man has faded into insignificance in comparison. (2) As a direct result of the emphasis upon the production of wealth there has been a shifting of the center of gravity of human interest from social, governmental, and human values to economics. The chief concern of men has been the acquiring of material values. Money has been the object of our devotions and the goal of all our strivings. (3) Our economic philosophy has been predicated upon a profit motive and a *laissez-faire* individualism. (4) Our economic society is constructed around a narrow nationalism which has resulted in almost incessant international conflict. That nationalism is more extreme today than at any time within the last century. The nations of the world today are huddled behind national economic tariff and trade barriers which are so strong that the trade of the world is all but paralyzed, and the world is seething with rivalry, suspicion, bitterness, and distrust. (5) The religion of the old era was based upon the legalisms of mediævalism. It has been a lawyer's religion and was based upon a system of "thou-shalt-nots." Its point of view has always been backward, and is founded upon tradition and

precedent. It has been a religion of the Scribes and Pharisees —"straining at gnats and swallowing camels"—insisting on the letter of the law and killing the spirit—worshiping with the lips but having hearts that were far from the spirit of God. (6) All of this has been supported by an educational system that has glorified these ideals.

Today that old order is decaying under the impulse of a new spirit and a process of rejuvenation. The philosopher Ortega says:

> There have been generations which have felt that there was a perfect similarity between their inheritance and their own private possessions. The consequence then, is that ages of accumulation arise. Other times have felt a profound dissimilarity between the two factors, and then there ensue ages of elimination and dispute, generations in conflict. In the former case the young men coming to the front coalesce with the old and submit to them: in politics, in science, and in the arts the ancient regime continues. Such periods belong to the old. In the latter case, since there is no attempt at preservation and accumulation, but on the contrary a movement toward relegation and substitution, the old are swept away by youth. Such periods belong to the young and are years of innovation and creative struggle.

There is no doubt that we are now entering a new era. "Humanity," says Mr. Whitehead, "is in one of its rare moods of shifting its outlook." To understand history we must know the changes which take place in the minds of men. Mr. Ortega's concept of a generation will aid us greatly in understanding our problems. He says:

> What we are going to call *vital sensibility* is the primary phenomenon of history, and the first we shall have to define in order to understand a particular age.
>
> The changes in *vital sensibility* which are decisive in history appear under the form of the generation. A generation is not a handful of outstanding men, nor simply a mass of men: it resembles a new integration of the social body, with its select minority and its gross multitude, launched upon the orbit of existence with a pre-established vital trajectory. The generation is a dynamic compromise between mass and the individual,

and is the most important concept in history. It is, so to speak, the pivot responsible for the movements of historical evolution.

A generation is a variety of the human race in the strict sense given to that term by naturalists.

Each generation does in fact represent a certain vital attitude at which existence is conscious, in a certain sense, of being determined. If we consider the evolution of a race in its entirety we find that each of its generations appears as a moment in its vital process, or as a pulse-beat in its organic energy. And each pulse-beat has a peculiar, even a unique, physiognomy: it is an inconvertible palpitation in the series of pulse-beats, like each note in the development of a melody. We may equally well picture each generation by means of the image of a biological projectile launched into space at a definite moment and with a pre-determined force and direction.

Our world needs a new vital sensibility. The time demands a new concept—a new motive—as vital, dynamic, and revolutionary as that provided by Martin Luther in order that the creative powers of this generation may be released. The supreme challenge to this generation of youths is to find that new *vital sensibility* and to interpret it in such definite and concrete terms that it may be understood by the masses of the population. Before we can meet this challenge effectively we must understand what it is. Christ rebuked his disciples severely that they were able to predict the weather, but that they were unable to understand the signs of the times. We lay ourselves open to the same criticism, if we do not diagnose correctly the factors of contemporary life and make an adequate adaptation of our teachings and our program to them. It is essential, therefore, that we study some of the most significant factors in this new situation.

## Some Factors in the New Challenge

In the first place, our youths must understand that in ten, fifteen, and twenty years they and their contemporaries will be in full control, and will have full responsibility for the leadership of our society. It is going to be their world, and

whatever of good or ill there will be in it will be of their own making. This generation of youths is not responsible for the debacle of the World War and for the sorry mess we are in, but they cannot shirk the responsibility of taking the situation that is laid in their laps, and constructing a new and better world out of it. This demand for leadership is staggering in its significance. No generation of American youths has ever faced such tremendous responsibility. Mr. André Siegfried, the eminent French economist, who wrote that searching book, *America Comes of Age,* calls our attention to the fact that America is now coming into the position of world leadership, and that America will, for the next century, occupy the position of world leadership that Great Britain has held for the last century. He very pertinently raises the question: "What will be the character and quality of that leadership?" That is the paramount issue now before the youth of America. That is the challenge that I should like to burn upon their hearts. I fear that the youths of other lands are far more conscious of their responsibility than are the youths of America. The youths of America have no spirit that will compare with that of the youths of Italy under Mussolini, with those of Russia under Stalin, and with those of Germany under Hitler. And the fact that these movements in those countries are so far out of harmony with American ideals is all the more reason that our youths should become conscious of their responsibilities. If the next generation of the world does not go Communistic or Nazi, it will only be because the youths of America and the rest of the world can offer the world a more vital and satisfactory substitute for Communism and Nazism. Let us not be deceived about this matter. Whatever one may think of Communism, it has certainly released a new and powerful impulse into the world's thought, and it can only be defeated by one more vital and powerful than itself. There is no possible escape from these alternatives. The issues are as clear

as the noonday sun. A devitalized and prostrate Christianity —a corrupt and morally degenerated capitalism, and a political system operated by the lowest third of intellectual capacity and moral integrity, cannot hope to compete successfully with a system so vital and virile as modern Communism. What are we going to do about it? That is a question which the youth of America must answer.

The second factor in the new challenge for youth is to be found in the fact that all the major intellectual professions, such as law, medicine, engineering, and teaching, are saturated with well-trained men. There is a great surplus of candidates for positions in all these fields, and there is an increasing supply coming on through our public school system. All of these professions are now using rather rigid methods of selection and elimination of candidates. Medicine is a good illustration. The medical schools have been limiting their enrolments for almost ten years, and at the present time they are accepting only a small percentage of those who are applying for admission. In order to get into a first-class medical school one must not only be a college graduate, but must rank in the upper fifth of his class. This means that competition for places of leadership in all the professions is becoming terrific. Only those most capable are able to survive. This means that if one achieve a place of leadership he must do it on the basis of sheer ability, and that one's training and preparation must be of a high order. This is a factor that cannot be over-emphasized. In the past because we have been relatively a young country, and until recently have had a frontier of vast stretches of unoccupied land, it has been comparatively easy for one, if he were unable to find employment in one section, to follow the frontier westward. Those days are gone. The new era is going to require the utmost of one's ability and application if he is to compete successfully with his fellows.

A third factor in the challenge of tomorrow is that the

new dynamic—the new *vital sensibility,* for the new generation must be based upon "real values." By real values I mean those that are related to personality—to one's moral and spiritual nature. Science and materialism have led us into a dark tunnel and have turned out the lights. The center of gravity of human interest must shift back to human values. The supreme worth of the individual must be placed above every other value. There can be no doubt that Christ placed the emphasis at this point. "For what shall a man give in exchange for his soul," said he. The parables of the prodigal son and the lost sheep are symbols of God's concern for the supreme value of the individual. God gave his own son to save men's souls.

There is a terrific conflict waging today over this principle. It strikes at the very heart of Christianity. Paul Hutchinson writes in a recent article:

> The essence of religious teaching is that the soul of man, whether a drunkard wallowing in a East End gutter or a black thrown on the human scrap heap of the diamond mines on the Rand, is worth more than the whole wealth of the world in the eyes of God.

Hutchinson says further that

> this notion of the supreme worth of the individual is as far beyond realization today as Einstein's mathematics is beyond the use of the paper-hanger measuring off wall paper in my living-room. Mind, I am not now passing judgment on the religious institution which has produced this idea. I only assert that no social system now known or contemplated offers the slightest comfort to this doctrine of individual importance. I am willing to lay down this as a proposition: There is not a social system now in existence or definitely proposed that could continue to function if the idea of the supreme worth of the individual were seriously entertained.

Hutchinson argues that:

> It is impossible for Western religion to continue as a favored institution protected by the Western state or supported by Western society if it insists that such qualities as love, meekness, forgiveness, self-sacrifice, and

the supreme worth of the individual shall be treated as actual controls of conduct. Neither state nor society, as they now are, could survive in the event that the people who are now in the churches began to take these ideals seriously.

How can religion live at peace in a society based on an institution that corrupts and degrades men? And that is exactly what our present industrial and factory system is doing. The Pope recently uttered a severe condemnation of our industrial order when he said, "Dead matter leaves the factory ennobled and transformed, where men are corrupted and degraded."

Our greatest trouble is that we are trying, in the words of Reinhold Neibuhr, to produce a "moral man in immoral society." Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle says that:

> As things are now we cannot love our neighbors as ourselves . . . Although today there is more than enough to go round, it is not going around and, apparently, cannot be made to go around in the economic system which we now have—a fact which condemns our present system far more severely than do the bitterest words of its bitterest critics! "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself": that according to Jesus and according to history is one of the most important and imperative words that ever proceeded out of the mouth of God. And today we cannot obey it, even those of us who are eager to do so. We find ourselves entrapped in a system which makes it impossible for us to obey it. But obey it we must. My own conviction is that obedience means *recovery* and that disobedience means revolution. The second commandment then is this: thou shalt build an economic system and a social order in which it shall be possible for people to love their neighbors as themselves.

A fourth factor in this new challenge is that a narrow nationalism must give way to international understanding and cooperation. At the present time there is very little international machinery around which a world organization can be built. International economic relations have developed far more rapidly than our means of conducting them. Sir Arthur Salter says that

in the whole sphere of the economic action of states neither law nor morality exists except in the most rudimentary and fragmentary form.

President Franck of the University of Wisconsin also points out that in a material way the nations of the world are drawn very closely together, but that psychologically and spiritually they are poles apart. Governments today are international persons, and act as such in relation to each other. The tremendous problem before us is to develop a code of ethics to guide these governmental persons in their dealings one with the other. Sir Arthur Salter stresses the significance of this need in these words:

Nowadays, however, governments have become among the most important "persons" in economic activity. Their action is at once of the widest scope, and of the most detailed character: it is at once the most powerful and the most dangerous because it represents the united strength of large communities and uses it so as to react upon the vital interests of others—and because it is wielded by those who also control the armed forces.

In the century ahead of us, international relations and the issues of peace and war will probably depend more upon the way in which the instrument of government is used to deflect the course of world trade than upon any other factor.

Those tentative suggestions are perhaps sufficient to illustrate the need for a new economic morality. . . If no such morality can be developed, if powerful national governments feel themselves free to take whatever action caprice or momentary difficulties may suggest, without regard to the reaction upon other countries, neither restrained nor justified by any guiding principles, the effect upon international relations will be disastrous: and it is difficult to believe that the passions aroused will not sooner or later prove too strong for any preventive machinery against war that either exists or is likely to be created.

It is perfectly clear from these statements that this challenge is one of tremendous implications. In the last two decades our own nation has made the transition from a debtor nation to the leading creditor nation of the world. The far-reaching implications of this fact have only begun to be

appreciated by ourselves. Our President, in his message to the nations of the world last week, sounded the keynote of our new era. Our task is to catch the spirit of that message and to make possible its applications in international relations. The challenge of that message is that the principles of Christ should become the basic law of the nations. Was there ever a greater challenge to Christian youth? I heard a very prominent man recently make the assertion that "it would be extremely difficult to find a single Christian principle in operation in the field of governmental relations." This should be a staggering blow to our Christian pride. It should humiliate us to the point of confession and repentance before God. Do we really believe in Christ's ways of life—that they are applicable to relations among individuals and among nations? If we are to be judged by our actions, the answer is a positive "No."

In this connection let me present to you the biting criticism of a prominent American. He said that if one will analyze all the definitions of civilization that the philosophers have given us, and if one will list the virtues which these civilizations extol, he will find that these virtues find their highest expression in the act of war. Mercy! What a condemnation! Is it possible that war is the acme of our civilization? To the degree that this criticism has any merit or truth just so far have we failed to construct a Christian civilization. It certainly cannot be said that Christ's principles of love, meekness, and non-resistance of evil, find their highest expression in the act of war. The answer is that there is no place in modern society where these principles have any general acceptance or application. A little, emaciated Hindu in the heart of India is putting the entire Christian world to shame in his efforts to apply these principles.

A fifth factor in this new challenge, and one which is explicitly implied in all that has been said, is the need for a new concept for religion. If the religion of Jesus is not func-

tioning in contemporary life, there is only one explanation of its failure, and that is that we who profess to be his followers are not functioning in harmony with his ideals. There is no other way for Christianity to function effectively for Christ except for us to stop our petty quibblings—our "mouthings" of lip-service, and seriously and sincerely begin to live as Christ lived. A serious and sincere attempt on our part to live as he lived will turn the world upside down. Such an attempt will provide the greatest *vital sensibility* that any society has ever experienced. It will provide a revolutionary impulse of tremendous proportions. Christ, himself, was the greatest revolutionist the world has ever known. Dare we live as he lived? Dare we love as he loved? Dare we forgive as he forgave? Dare we go the second mile? Dare we resist not evil? Dare we love our neighbors as ourselves? Dare we place the supreme worth of the individual above all other values? Such courage to live is the *vital sensibility* that this generation so sorely needs.

### A Program for a Christian Youth Movement

In conclusion I venture to submit a program or a platform for a real Christian youth movement.

1. We believe in the God revealed by Jesus. We propose to follow the leadership of Jesus in discovering for ourselves the true nature and purposes of God. We demand a religion that is vital, positive, and dynamic. We do not believe in a religion of negations. We believe that religion is a vital area of human experience, and we propose to explore that field in a positive, dynamic, and creative way in an honest and intelligent search for its spiritual values. We believe there are positive laws of spiritual growth—that these laws have been fully detailed for us in the life and teachings of Jesus—that we will build up our own religious creed out of the tested experiences that come to us as a result of a practical application of these laws of creative living.

2. We believe in the supreme worth of the individual. The greatest value in the world is a human life—a living personality, created in the image of God and destined for immortality. We will, therefore, strive to create a society in which the supreme worth of the individual shall be given chief concern. We will not sponsor and support a social and economic system which corrupts and degrades men.

3. Believing as we do in the supreme worth of the individual, we believe that all racial and national barriers should be obliterated, and that we should strive for a world society in which the principles of Christian ethics will be the basis of all law and government. We will not fight or murder our fellow men. We will seek by pacific means *only* to settle our differences. We will not resort to violence. We will follow the principle of love, and when that fails we will suffer humiliation rather than forsake it.

4. We propose to inaugurate the principles of Christian ethics and morality into our citizenship. We will not tolerate a government operated by racketeers, morons, and moral degenerates. We demand, and we will see that we get, an honest and righteous government. We must have honest and righteous men in all places of leadership and responsibility. We regard public office as a public trust and that trust must not be betrayed.

5. We demand an educational program that will provide for the fullest type of self-realization, and one that places the ennoblement and enrichment of life above all other values. We resent an educational program that would enable us to "gain the whole world and lose our own souls." We repudiate the implications of materialism as educational objectives.

Upon this platform and under the inspiration of these principles we will go forward. May God give us vision, wisdom, and courage to meet the challenge of these commitments.

# MODERN VOODOOISM

Captain JOHN LEE MADDOX, Ph. D. (Yale)

A SHORT time ago an able and clever writer in a daring and amusing statement branded the physicians and surgeons of this country "our medicine-men." He created a sensation, and those physicians who took him seriously were not slow in apprising him that they were affronted by his impudence.

One can sympathize somewhat with those offended doctors, for it is certainly a far cry from the modern healer, with his soothing and cheerful "bedside manner," to the genuine old voodoo man, the witch-doctor, the medicine-man or shaman of the American Indians and other savage tribes. Contrast the spotless, sanitary, white uniform, nurses, hot water bottle, thermometer, stethoscope, fluoroscope, electrocardiograph, X-ray machine and all the rest of the scientific equipment of the twentieth century practitioner, with its accompanying suggestive influence, and this startling outfit—the real article—which I myself have seen adorning the person of a Blackfeet Indian healer.

For a coat he wore the skin of a yellow bear, an article extremely rare, and, therefore, in itself a powerful "medicine." The skin of the head was formed into a mask which entirely hid the features of the enchanter. On his body, in addition to the yellow bear's skin, were the skins of various wild animals—snakes, frogs, field-mice, snails, the beaks and tails of birds, hoofs of deer, goats and antelopes—in a word, the odds and ends, the fag-ends and tips of everything that swims, flies or runs. In one hand he held a magic wand, in the other a fearful rattle which contained the mystery of his order.[1]

Needless to say, this equipment also had its suggestive

[1] Catlin, George, *Letters and Notes On the Manners and Customs of the Indian Tribes of North America*, Vol. I, pp. 39, 40.

influence which the savage doctor took care to emphasize. On coming into the lodge where a sick man lay, he shook the rattle and brandished the magic wand in a fearsome manner. To the clatter, din and discord thus produced he added wild, startling jumps and Indian yells, and the horrid and appalling growls and snarls of the grizzly bear, while he called on the bad spirit to leave the body of the patient.

Many medicine-men such as this one are still active in our own country, as well as in the interior of Africa and in other uncivilized territories. They are not only amazing, grotesque and ridiculous spectacles; they are really sinister and terrible beings. Perfectly ghastly accounts of their activities can occasionally be read in current newspapers.

A short time ago, for example, a news item appeared concerning a Southern Ute Indian who was brought to trial before the federal authorities in Denver, Colorado. He had committed an act of which we can not even think without shudders of horror. He had buried alive his own child. Why? It was clearly proved at his trial that he had committed the unnatural act at the instigation of his tribal medicine-man. He was consequently adjudged not guilty. When the police authorities sought out the medicine-man, who had been really responsible for the child-sacrifice, they found that he had already met his death in jail in a fight with a fellow prisoner.

It is clearly to be seen why a modern doctor should naturally feel a little peeved at being classed with savage, bloodthirsty demon-doctors of this kind. It would be almost, if not altogether, impossible to discover any individual who under such circumstances would relish the comparison.

We are accustomed to thinking that we live in a civilized age. But civilization has much to do before it succeeds finally in eradicating from all parts of the world the barbarous practices of savage medicine-men. The beating of the tom-toms is still heard in the jungles, whereas in many cities and large towns all over the United States "pow-wow" doctors still

perform their incantations. In some provinces in Switzerland the medicine-man or "quacksalver," as he is called, is allowed to practice just as freely as any physician or surgeon. Outside the city of St. Gall, toward the Canton of Appenzell, more than a dozen of these "quacksalvers" can be found within a space of less than two city blocks, whereas others are scattered all over the state.

Shamans and witch-doctors are associated in our minds with bygone days. But they are not a thing of the past. Their rites are still practiced, and that not merely in the unexplored parts of the world. From cultivated countries we occasionally hear of strange and dreadful happenings. In China and Russia people have been beaten to death and even buried alive because of the superstition and fury of witch-doctors. A traveler and investigator from the interior of India recently reported that cannibalism is still practiced in that country, the victims being placed in pens and fattened for the feasts as we fatten hogs and beeves for the slaughter.[2] And in the French town of Bombon, only a short time ago, the parish priest was seized by a dozen infuriated women, some of whom were over middle age, because he had been accused of casting spells as a demon. He was stripped and gagged in the sacristy of his church, cruelly beaten and left in a helpless condition. It was a month after he had been rescued before he was able again to take up his parish duties.[3]

Enlightened American people receive such reports with a shock. But we must not quickly condemn these cruel and horrid actions without realizing their significance. All fantastic, primitive practices, if studied in the right spirit, have a deep meaning and a useful lesson.

Good will come out of evil. This is what has happened in the past. Chemistry has come out of alchemy, astronomy has come out of astrology, medicine has come out of magic, science has come out of superstition. The story of how this

[2] *New York Times*, April 29, 1926. [3] *New York Telegram*, January 6, 1925.

has been done and still is being done, and the study of the modern voodoo are most fascinating and exciting—far more thrilling than many a "best seller" or sensational motion-picture. I speak from many years' first-hand observation among strange and rude tribes all over the world, as well as from an exhaustive study of the whole enormous printed literature on the subject.

Despite the indignation of our physicians and surgeons at any attempts in comparison, the fact remains that many of our most scientific and effective methods of treatment of diseases, many of our most cherished religious ideas and rituals, many of those political institutions of which we are so proud, we owe to that too-much-despised, ignorant, superstitious, ridiculous medicine-man. And it is the story of the medicine-man and how he is affecting our lives that I propose to tell here.

A curious thing I once observed among the Visayans, a native tribe in the Philippine Islands, may help to make clear why such a bizarre institution as the medicine-man ever at all existed. I noticed one day that a group of natives were busily engaged in smearing something over the doors and windows of one of their houses. The atmosphere of the neighborhood had a familiar but unpleasant odor. On coming closer I discovered it to be garlic. On making inquiries, I learned that a child had just been born inside the house. And the reason that the doors and windows were being fumigated with garlic was the fear that the dreaded "asuangs" might creep in and destroy the baby. Asuangs, I was told, have a habit of doing that. They are supposed to be malignant little spirits who are particularly fond of infants. But when they smell the garlic, the natives think, they are so disagreeably affected that they run away, for, like some Americans, they cannot abide the odor.

Asuangs are not the only spirits who are supposed to work mischief among uncivilized tribes. According to primitive notions there are ghosts, demons and spirits everywhere. The

very air is filled with them. If a man becomes ill, the spirits are believed, in some way, to have got hold of him or into him. If he loses his knife, hatchet, bolo, head-ax, or spear, a spirit might be blamed. If he accidentally trips over a stone, a spirit might have placed it there.

Why do savage or primitive peoples live in a world filled with mysterious, baneful spirits? It is not a very pleasant world in which to live. The answer to this question is simple: it was, and is, their natural way of accounting for bad luck, misfortune, sickness, suffering, disease and death.

The generality of mankind accepts ordinary prosperity as a matter of course. But when a person is overtaken by failure, loss or calamity, there are just three possible attitudes in the premises: indifference, agnosticism, and faith.

It is impossible for a primitive man to adopt an attitude of indifference regarding his woes: neither can the savage make agnosticism his life philosophy. He is, consequently, driven to manufacture for himself some kind of faith. That is, he must believe that some agency, something or other which acts in something like a human manner, is the cause of his bad luck. And if this something-like-human agency cannot be seen, then he reasons it must be an invisible foe, a terrible spirit who is responsible for the falling trees which kill friends and neighbors, for the evil beasts which devour them and for the wickedness of human enemies.

This idea is brought home to the savage very vividly in his dreams. As he reposes in sleep he sees his imperious and implacable ancestors. He sees them; therefore, they are still alive and active, although their bodies have died. They are invisible in the daytime and during waking hours; therefore, they must be more powerful and malevolent than ever. They punished their descendants when living. They do the same, in an intensified degree, since they have died. And this explains, to the savage mind, why living persons experience loss and pain.

The savage in the same way dreams of his dead enemies, and when he awakens he imagines himself to be surrounded on every side by these enemy ghosts. What, then, is more natural than that he should ascribe all the terrible things that happen to him to ghosts, demons and spirits? Sickness, especially, a thing very difficult for anybody to understand—who is responsible for it? An evil spirit, of course, who has gained entrance into the body of the afflicted persons!

Thus the Finns believe that the souls of the dead waylay men in order to kill them and eat their hearts and livers. The spirits will not spare even their nearest relatives,[4] for even spirits being something-like-human, must eat and drink. Australian tribes believe that sickness is caused by a ghost that is eating the liver of the victim.[5] The Zulus of Africa offer the sacrifice of an ox to the dead ancestor of whom a sick man dreams, and who must therefore be the cause of his trouble.[6] In Samoa it is believed that illness and death are brought about by souls of the dead that have crept into the heads and stomachs of the living.[7]

Among the Omaha Indians when a person faints and recovers it is explained in this way: "He died (fainted) and went to his departed kindred, but no one would speak to him, so he was obliged to return to life," that is, to recover consciousness.[8] By the natives of the Fiji Islands, when a man "faints or dies it is believed that his soul may be brought back by calling after it, and occasionally the ludicrous scene is witnessed of a sick man lying at full length and bawling out lustily for the return of his own soul."[9] During the supposed absence of the soul, when the body twitches in a violent manner, the question is provoked: "Why this strange behavior if the

[4] Smirnov, J., "Le Cannibalisme et les Sacrifices chez las Ancêtres des Finnois orientaux." *In Congrès international d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie prehistorique,* Vol. XI, 1893, p. 316.
[5] Tylor, E. B., *Anthropology,* p. 354.
[6] *Encyclopædia Britannica,* Edition IX, Vol. 7, p. 61.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Fletches-Laflesche, "The Omaha Tribe," in *American Bureau of Ethnology,* Vol. XXVII, 1911, p. 589.
[9] Williams, T. and J. C., *The Fiji and the Fijians,* Part I, p. 190.

man is dead?" Not knowing that deranged digestion or disorganized nerves could account for this, the savage explains the phenomenon by affirming that while the soul of the unfortunate person was away, one of the many inhabitants of the spirit-world has usurped, for a time, possession of the body.

In cases of falling sickness or epilepsy, when the patient falls to the earth, foams at the mouth, bites his tongue until the blood flows, and his arms and legs are torn by convulsions, the best reason the primitive man can give for such behavior is that the victim is possessed by another spirit, for a man's own spirit would not treat his body in such an outrageous manner.

Rude peoples explain insanity in the same way. If you have ever observed the symptoms of a violently insane person, acting no longer like himself, seeing with other eyes and hearing with other ears than has been his wont, you will easily see that to the childish mind of the savage, the most natural way of accounting for this conduct is that of possession by a vicious spirit. This is the accepted explanation of insanity in Samoa and Sumatra.[10] If we add to these considerations, the fact that an insane man sometimes manifests almost superhuman strength, being able to defy the efforts of three or four strong men to manage him, we can understand how the untutored and uncritical savage must believe that a spirit of power and might possesses the body of the ill-fated victim of insanity.

Applying the same reasoning to delirium and to fever, and then to all possible kinds of disease, we can form a clear idea of the savage or ghost theory of disease and sickness: all bad luck, every disease, every sickness and every death are ascribed to some kind of spirit activity.

What, then, is the savage to do in case of illness? Supposing his brother falls sick of a fever? He must, of course, call a doctor. But what sort of doctor? Not a man who knows

[10] Turner, George, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 221; Spencer, Herbert, *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, p. 230.

how to fight the hostile germs or bacteria in the patient's body, for the primitive man knows nothing about germs or bacteria. But he will call a doctor who is supposed to know how to deal with the malicious spirits who are responsible for the sickness. And what kind of medicine will such a doctor administer? Not ingredients to calm the nerves and to kill the germs, but remedies designed to soothe or to banish the infuriated spirits.

The man who does these things for the ailing, the sick and the demented is called the medicine-man. "Medicine-man" in the language of our American Indians means "mystery man," for "medicine" is used by them to designate anything sacred, mysterious or of wonderful power or efficacy. "Medicine" among savages includes clairvoyance, ecstasism, spiritism, divination, demonology, prophecy, necromancy and all things incomprehensible. Hence the medicine-man is not only the primitive doctor, but he is the diviner, the rain-maker, the soothsayer, the prophet, the priest, and sometimes the chief or king. He is, in short, the great man of primitive times and among savage peoples. Sitting Bull, for example, the organizer of the Custer massacre, was a medicine-man.

The medicine-man goes under various names in various localities. Some of his titles are the medicine-man, the shaman, the angakok, the voodoo-man, the obiman, the conjuror, the magician, the wizard and the sorcerer.

Whence comes this important individual, and how does he attain his position? His office sometimes is hereditary, and he inherits it from his father. But more often he has some unusual qualification or has had some unique experience that fits him especially for the post of mediator between the human and the superhuman worlds.

When serving with my regiment in the Philippines, I came in contact with a typical case. One of the most famous medicine-men or "spit doctors" in Pasay, a village some miles south of Manila, was a man named Enchong.

This Enchong gained considerable notoriety by reason

of his so-called wonderful cures. He told this story of the way he became a "doctor":

One day, as I was walking in the San Mateo mountains I became very tired. I lay down at the foot of a tree to rest and refresh myself. Sleep overtook me. I saw a wonderful being in my dream. This being had long, white whiskers. He made mysterious motions with his hands, arms, and legs. And then he talked to me. And this is what he said: "Enchong, you are appointed chief doctor in these islands. And by virtue of this appointment you are empowered to heal all the sick that seek your aid. Spit on them, and you will receive their eternal gratitude." When I returned to my barrio (native village), I told everybody about my dream, and soon the sick from far and near were coming to my door. I healed them all by rubbing them with my saliva.

So great was the reputation of the supposed cures of Enchong that rich and poor alike besieged his house, demanding to be rubbed with his miraculous saliva. But when the civil authorities became aware of the existence in their midst of that primitive method of the treatment of disease, they declared Enchong to be an insane person and committed him to an asylum. And that was the end of that medicine-man.

A person sometimes gains admittance to the goodly number of the elect by what may be called a process of natural selection. A Pima Indian, in order to become a medicine-man, had only to recover from a rattlesnake bite on the hand or near the heart.[11] That is a fairly stiff entrance examination, and I fancy not many white men would care to take it, even for the possible reward of being made chief wizard.

The manner of selection in the case of a medicine-man of the aborigines of Victoria, in Australia, was analogous. This man fell to the earth from a great height as a result of sitting on the portion of a branch that he was cutting from a tree. He was lucky enough to escape injury and was rewarded for his stupidity by being made a shaman.[12]

[11] Russell, Frank, "Pima Indians," in *American Bureau of Ethnology*, Annual Report XXVI, p. 257.

[12] Brough-Smith, R., *The Aborigines of Victoria*, p. 465.

It may be clearly seen from these cases that the reason assigned by primitive and savage peoples for lucky escapes from injury is that of spirit protection or spirit possession.

An insane person for the same reason may easily become a wizard. Since an insane man differs from others because he had spirits dwelling within him, who in all the land is better fitted to plead the cause of mortals with the gods?

True, his ways are different from the ways of other persons, but so are the ways of the gods. The very fact, therefore, that an insane person is unlike other men is proof positive that he is by nature paramount. Being by virtue of his own divinity on intimate terms with the gods, and possessing a knowledge of their nature and disposition, he is excellently equipped for devising ways and means of procuring celestial benefactions. Among the Baksa tribes, medicine-men pretend to be mad and assume all the symptoms of insanity in order to create and maintain the impression that they are possessed by spirits.[13]

The process of becoming a medicine-man, of being initiated into the mysteries of the sacred calling and of getting into the necessary " inspired " state, is, in some cases, a heroic ordeal. The servant of the gods, in Guiana, is forced to endure fastings and beatings of the most extreme severity. He is compelled to dance until he falls to the ground exhausted and senseless. For the purpose of resuscitation he is forced to swallow a draught of tobacco juice, which causes violent nausea and vomiting of blood. This treatment is kept up day after day until the subject dreams dreams, sees visions, is seized by convulsions or gives unmistakable evidence that the spirits of the heavenly regions have taken possession of him.[14] It is readily seen that practices of this kind really act upon the mind in such a manner as entirely to alter its ordinary habits.

The medicine-man often resorts to sleeplessness, seclusion and obstinate gloating on some morbid fancy in order to bring

[13] Bartels, M., *Die Medicin der Naturvölker*, p. 52.
[14] Meiners, C., *Allgemeine Kritische Geschichte der Religionen*, Vol. II, p. 162.

about hallucinations, which prove his superior qualifications both to himself and to his fellow tribesmen. He is usually successful, for it is a fact well known to medical science that the more frequently these diseased conditions of the mind are sought, the more readily they are found. The shaman, therefore, tries repeatedly, until finally, like Doctor Jekyll, the nature which he has tried so assiduously to induce by artificial means comes without seeking. He then, without effort, possesses hallucinations with all the garb of reality.

The " chosen by heaven " in Southern India drinks medicated draughts, cuts and lacerates his flesh until the blood flows, lashes himself with a huge whip, presses a burning torch to his naked breast, drinks the blood which flows from his own wounds, or drinks the blood of a sacrificed goat, pressing the throat of the decapitated animal to his mouth. As if he has acquired new life, he then begins to brandish his staff of bells, and to dance with a quick, but wild, unsteady step. Suddenly the spirit seems to take possession of him. There is no mistaking that glare or those frantic leaps. He snorts, he stares, he gyrates. The demon now has him in full control and, although he retains the power of utterance and of motion, his separate consciousness is in abeyance.[15]

The initiation ceremony among the Dyaks of Borneo has been described as follows: The manangs, or priests, lead the neophyte into a curtained apartment. A medicine-man remains on the outside in order to tell the awe-stricken spectators what is taking place within. The officiating priests, asserts the publicity man outside, cut open the young man's head and take out his brains. These they carefully wash and replace, in order to make the candidate's mind clean and clear so that he will be able to penetrate into the mysteries of evil spirits and into the intricacies of disease. They insert gold dust into his eyes to give him keenness and strength of sight, powerful enough to see the soul wherever it may have wandered. They

[15] *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 1886, pp. 101, 102.

plant barbed hooks on the tips of his fingers to enable him to seize the soul and hold it fast; and, finally, they pierce his heart with an arrow to make him tender-hearted. After the ordeal has thus been described to the laity, the new-fledged medicine-man comes from behind the screen looking better than ever. All that was done to him behind the curtain, it goes without saying, was a series of symbolic actions, representing the terrible things which were described by the medicine-men's publicity man.[16]

The initiation among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the West Coast of Africa is a more serious matter. The candidates in that country must undergo a test of purity. The neophyte is made to step into a clear space, surrounded by glowing embers that form a circle three yards in diameter. Immediately, rum, kerosene oil and other inflammable liquids are thrown upon the embers, so that the flames leap high in the air, sometimes higher than a man's head. The process after an interval is repeated a second and a third time, and then the ordeal is over. If the candidate has been able to remain in the circle each time until the flames have subsided, and has sustained no injury, it is believed that he is pure—the gods have protected their favorite from the fire. But, if he has been compelled by the intense heat to leap out of the circle or if he has received a burn or any other kind of injury, he is thought to be impure. Very few medicine-men are able to come forth from the trial of fire unscathed.[17] Those who are so fortunate as to do so become highly honored witch-doctors.

Among many peoples there are medicine-women as well as medicine-men. In the Karok tribes of California, for instance, there are two classes of doctors: the root-doctors and the barking-doctors. The barking-doctor is generally a woman. It is her office to diagnose the case. This she does by squatting

[16] Roth, H. L., *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Vol. I, pp. 280, 281 (quoting Archdeacon Perham), *Journal of Straits Asiatic Society*, No. 19, 1887.
[17] Ellis, A. B., *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 139.

down on her haunches, like a dog, and barking for hours together.

She is a far more important person than the root-doctor. In addition to her diagnostic office, she doctors "poisoned" cases, which are very common among those people. They think they often fall victims to witches, who cause some noxious reptile or animal to grow through the skin into the viscera or intestines. The barking-doctor first discovers where the animal or reptile is located, and then sucks the place until the skin is broken and the blood flows. She then administers an emetic to herself, and contrives to make it appear that she vomits up a frog or some other small animal which she pretends she sucked out of the patient.[18]

The medicine-woman in East Central Africa combines with her functions of healing and prophecy the office of witch-detective. "She is [then] the most terrible character to be met in village life. . . It is to her [supposedly], that the gods or ancestral spirits make known their will. This they do by direct appearance and in visions and dreams. . .

"When she seems to see the gods face to face, which always happens at the dead hour of the night, she begins [her operations] by raving and screaming. This she continues until the whole village is astir and she herself utterly prostrated by her exertions. She then throws herself on the ground and remains in a state of catalepsy for [a] time, while the villagers gather around her awe-stricken, waiting for her revelations. At last she speaks, and her words are accepted without question as the oracles of the gods. She may order human sacrifices and no one will dare to deny her victims. . .

"As a detective of wizards and witches the prophetess is in constant demand. When traveling on official duty in this capacity, she goes accompanied by a strong guard, and when

[18] Powers, S., "The Tribes of California," in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, III, p. 26.

she orders a meeting of a clan or tribe, attendance is compulsory on pain of confessed guilt.

"When all are assembled [the shamaness], who is clad in a scanty loin-cloth of leopard skin and literally covered from head to foot with rattles and [fantastic ornaments], rushes about among the crowd. She shouts, [she] rants and raves in the most frantic manner, after which, assuming a calm, judicial manner, she goes from one to another, touching the hand of each person. As she touches the hand of the [supposed] bewitcher [a person against whom she probably has a grudge], she starts back with a loud shriek and yells, 'This is he, the murderer; blood is in his hand!' . . ."

This accusation "of the prophetess is [generally considered] absolute and final." And, since witchcraft in all parts of Africa is a capital crime, the accused person is put to death.

But the shamaness "is not content with simply discovering the culprit. She [actually] proves his guilt [—or makes it appear that she so does]. This she [accomplishes] by 'smelling out'—finding—'the horns' he used in the prosecution of the unlawful art. Since she, herself, has secretly buried those [horns] it is easy for her to find them." She follows the bank of a stream, "carrying water in a vessel and an ordinary hoe." She dips water at intervals "from the stream." She pours the water "upon the ground and then stops to listen. She hears [or seems to hear], subterranean voices directing her to the hiding place of the wizard." When she arrives at the infernal spot, "she begins to dig with [the] hoe, muttering incantations the while; and there she finds the horns deposited near the stream, to poison" the person who is supposed to have been bewitched. "As [the horns] are dug from the ground, should any person not a magician touch them even accidentally, the result would be instant death.

"[But] how does the [witch-doctor] find the horns? By what devil's art does she hit upon the [exact] spot where they are concealed? The explanation is very simple. Wherever

[the priestess] is employed, she must spend a night in the village before commencing operations. She does not [go to bed as do] the other villagers but wanders about the live-long night, listening [as she professes] to spirit voices. If she sees a poor [fellow] outside his house after the usual hour for retiring, she brings that up against him the next day as evidence of guilty intention, [asserting] that either on his own account or on [behalf] of his friend, the wizard, he meant to steal away to dig up the horns. . . The dread of such dire consequences keeps the villagers within doors, leaving the sorceress the whole night to [prepare] the tableau [to be enacted on] the following day." [19]

Among the Dyaks of Borneo, the very notion of a medicine-woman is so full of mysterious and powerful suggestion that often the medicine-men deliberately assume the costumes and habits of women. This procedure is supposed to add to their strangeness and occult abilities. Such characters, called "manang bali," are most extraordinary persons. They are treated in every respect like women and occupy themselves with feminine pursuits. But despite the fact that it is very humiliating to a man to be treated like a woman, the "manang bali" quite willingly submit to it for the sake of the enhanced prestige which the feminine idea of shamanate affords.[20] It may therefore be seen that the position of medicine-woman is no petty or despised office.

Medicine-men and women the world over are quick to realize the value of cooperation. Shamans and shamanesses often work in groups, cliques, fraternities or associations, being banded together for their common interests. All being united, at least at times, to deceive or hoodwink the people, they are careful to assist one another and to make known anything that may be generally useful.

Among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the West Coast of

[19] Macdonald, J., "East Central African Customs," in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXII, pp. 105-107.

[20] Roth, H. L., *op. cit.*, p. 270. Quoting Brooke Low.

Africa, medicine-men send to one another information of what is taking place and what persons are likely to seek their services and for what purpose they come. A priest will sometimes inform an applicant that the god he serves refuses to accord the information or assistance required, and will recommend that he go to another priest, to whom, in the meantime, he has communicated every particular. On consulting this second priest, the applicant learns to his astonishment that he knows without being told the purpose for which the visitor has come.[21]

A warning must be given, however, against forming the erroneous impression that the medicine-man on the whole practices nothing but trickery and fraud. The witch-doctor, as a matter of fact, is usually quite honest and sincere, and practices in good faith the methods he has been taught to believe are true and effective. According to his light, he is a thoroughly honest doctor.

There are quack medicine-men, of course, just as there are quack doctors among us, whose sole object is to wring shekels from the pockets of poor, suffering, gullible dupes. There are black sheep in every fold; the condition is inevitable. Of the original twelve apostles, one was a traitor. There are many insincere clergymen also, but, of course, the greater number of them are sincere and honest. So, too, although medicine-men are mistaken in that their theory of disease is wrong, most of them enter upon their profession in good faith, and indeed succeed in achieving ends, which on the whole make for the good of their society.

The results of a wide range of reading and personal investigation have proved to the satisfaction of the writer that the ratio of the false to the true among the uncivilized is virtually the same as among the civilized. A case in point is the Dieri tribes of Southern Australia, whose shamans, when they themselves are sick, call in other medicine-men to treat them.[22] Such action would seem to show their sincerity.

[21] Ellis, A. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 129. [22] Bartels, M., *op. cit.*, p. 92.

Even when their methods seem perfectly idiotic to our cultivated minds, and even when they seem to resort to trickery, really amazing results have sometimes been effected by medicine-men. A Columbia University student, born and brought up in Switzerland, makes the statement that in November, 1921, when his mother was operated on for dropsy and twenty-five quarts of water were removed, the aid of a "quacksalver" or pow-wow doctor was sought. She suffered absolutely no pain either during the operation or after it. The same student declares that in his home city, physicians and surgeons regularly call on the "quacksalver" for aid in relieving pain.

The shamans of the Similkameen, of British Columbia, are credited with curing people apparently in the last stages of consumption.[23] In Liberia, white people, afflicted by certain kinds of tropical diseases, have been cured by native doctors, after European medical men had confessed their inability to do anything for persons so afflicted.[24] Dorothy Cator, in *Every-Day Life Among the Head-Hunters,* writes:

> We met a woman lately who had come from Freetown with a dreadful disease in her face, and our doctors could do nothing for her; and so her husband brought her right up here in the interior, to one of these "medicine-men" to be cured "country fashion," and she is getting better every day. Her suffering was intense, but now she has absolutely no pain and is evidently on the high road to recovery.[25]

In view of such achievements, how could savage doctors do otherwise than believe in the theory and methods by which they work?

The medicine-man of some tribes, in addition to his alleged intimacy with the gods, does not hesitate in cases of incorrigibility to employ another expedient in order to achieve results, an expedient which never fails to strike terror into the hearts of both friend and foe. This may be called the detective

[23] Allison, Mrs. S. S., "An Account of the Similkameen Indians of British Columbia," in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* Vol. XXI, 1892, p. 311.
[24] Bartels, M., *op. cit.,* p. 50.
[25] Cator, D., *op. cit.,* p. 189.

function, to which reference was made in connection with medicine-women. The savage, when anything unpleasant happens, asks: "Who prevailed upon the spirits to despoil the crops or to slay the cattle? Who caused the spirit to enter into the patient and bring about his sickness and death?"

For "proper" answers these questions are always submitted to the servant of the gods—the medicine-man. Then woe unto the unpopular men, to the weak women, and to the persons who have not shown the proper respect and reverence for the witch-doctor! For upon them will fall the accusation of witchcraft, which is usually followed by death.

This detective function gives the medicine-man an opportunity to gratify his choicest malice, to punish the recreant, to whip the disobedient into line with perfect safety, and at the same time to intensify to a superlative degree the awful dread with which popular superstition enshrouds his own person.

No such thing as a natural death is realized by the natives of Central Australia. A man who dies has of necessity been killed by another man or woman, and sooner or later some person will be accused by the medicine-man, his life being thereby forfeited. When a man is dying, he will sometimes whisper in the ear of the shaman the name of the culprit, but even if he does not do this, the medicine-man will often state, as soon as death has taken place, the direction in which the culprit lives and very probably the very group to which he belongs. It may require two or three years for him to discover the actual man, but sooner or later he makes it appear that he has been successful.[26]

Among the Tshi-speaking peoples of West Africa, priests are frequently employed to procure the death of persons who have offended or injured the applicants. It is not supposed, however, that the shamans have this power of themselves, but, that being in high favor with the gods, they are able to induce them to adopt their quarrels. The persons against whom

[26] Spencer, W. B., and Gillen, F. J., *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 46-48; 533.

priests work their evil magic sometimes actually die, and in such coincidences the power of the servants of the gods is greatly enhanced.[27]

When the doomed individual does not die from disease or accident, the priest, if he be sufficiently interested in the case, will cause poison secretly to be administered to the man whose death is desired.[28] Many innocent persons are thus made to suffer and the shaman can gratify his private malice with impunity. It is to the advantage, therefore, of every tribal member to ingratiate himself with the medicine-man, and the "anointed by heaven" is not slow to take advantage of the tremendous awe and terror which he excites and of the terrible power which he wields.

[27] Ellis, A. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 142-144.
[28] Ibid., pp. 144, 145.

# THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN COLONIZATION MOVEMENT AND ITS RELATION TO THE DREAM OF A CHRISTIAN EMPIRE IN AFRICA

OLIVER WENDELL ELSBREE
Associate Professor of History, University of Pittsburgh

Early in 1931 a League of Nations Commission reported that virtual slavery existed in the Negro republic of Liberia. The publication of this report was the anticlimax to the dreams and hopes of some of our Puritan forefathers who saw in Liberia the nucleus of a vast Christian empire on the Dark Continent. Whether or not such a dream could have been realized under more favorable circumstances it is impossible to say. But it may be of profit to us living today to acquaint ourselves with some of the earliest dreamers of such a Christian empire, to consider the alliance they sought to make with the promoters of Negro colonization, and to seek for reasons why the movement failed.

The foreign missionary movement in America did not assume organized form until 1810, when the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was formed at Bradford, Mass.; but the idea of sending missionaries to Africa was seriously considered as early as 1776. In that year two Congregational ministers of Newport, R. I., Ezra Stiles and Samuel Hopkins, issued a circular which received the support of several local missionary bodies and of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Funds were raised to the amount of eighty pounds, and two young Negroes were sent to Princeton to study theology under President Witherspoon with a view to their going to Africa as missionaries. The disturbances incident to the Revolutionary War rendered the plan impossible of achievement. Hopkins sought again in 1791 to revive an interest in African missions,

but was unsuccessful. When he died in 1803 his dreams were still unrealized.

In spite of the failure of Hopkins (during his lifetime) to arouse sufficient interest in African missions to send young men to Africa as agents of various missionary and abolitionist societies, he may none the less be regarded as preeminently the father of the foreign missionary movement in America. It may be well, therefore, to examine some of the mainsprings of his unusual interest in the spiritual welfare of the natives of Africa. These mainsprings are to be found in his peculiar theological tenets. Hopkins is best classified as the leader of the extreme right wing of New England Calvinism. He is also to be remembered as the " Boswell " of Jonathan Edwards, whose extreme ideas he popularized and developed. He lived and died without exactly achieving fame, yet the influence he exerted was altogether beyond the limits of his reputation as an original thinker. In the development of what he liked to call " consistent Calvinism " he departed from his master, Edwards, in one or two important respects. He rejected the dualistic rôle of God's relation to man, which Edwards had taught, and substituted something more nearly resembling pantheism. According to Edwards it was God's love which redeemed the elect and God's justice which punished sinners. Hopkins maintained that the very essence of the deity was love and that divine love, and divine love alone, both blessed and punished. God, then, might be regarded as the author of both good and evil, but in the mind of deity there could be only good. For any one to desire the joys of heaven was to Hopkins a manifestation of celestial selfishness unworthy of a true Christian. One should rather adopt an attitude of complete resignation to God's will as wholly beneficent, even to the extent of being willing to be damned for the glory of God. Furthermore one should revere all God's creatures from pure motives of love untainted by any selfish hope of future bliss. Far from inducing an attitude of passive indifference to the

welfare of sentient creatures, the adoption of "consistent Calvinism" should induce the true Christian to practice the principle of "disinterested benevolence to all beings which exist . . . or that can be in any sense or degree objects of good will." In this way one would be imitating God. From such a view-point human slavery was a hideous thing because it was the antithesis of disinterested benevolence. It was no accident, therefore, that Hopkins became a vigorous opponent to slaveholders and slave-traders. He began a movement in Rhode Island which ended the slave-trade in 1774 and which ten years later secured the abolition of slavery itself in that State. He was prominent in the organization of local missionary and abolitionist societies. His plan for sending missionaries to Africa occupied his mind for the last thirty years of his life. He sought in vain to secure the financial support of the local abolition and missionary societies then in existence. Before his death he had fired the youthful imagination of Samuel J. Mills, of Torringford, Conn., the son of a Congregational minister of the same name who was an ardent admirer and theological disciple of Hopkins. Mills was destined to play an important part in the formation of various societies which, it was hoped, would fulfil the dreams of the exponents of disinterested benevolence.

Meanwhile another related project was conceived by Dr. William Thornton, a Virginian, the man who afterward designed the national Capitol at Washington. In 1787 Thornton published an address to the free colored population of Rhode Island and Massachusetts in which he invited them to follow him to the coast of Guinea where a colony would be planted. Thornton aimed to improve the condition of the free Negroes of New England rather than to win the Dark Continent to Christianity, but his idea was cordially approved by Hopkins and his followers. While Thornton's plan failed, chiefly through lack of interest, he himself lived to become one of the

managers of the Colonization Society when it was formed in 1816.

The African colonization idea received considerable impetus through the establishment of a Negro colony in Sierra Leone under British auspices. The first Negroes had gone there in 1787. This group of pioneers comprised four hundred and sixty slaves who had been taken on board British ships in American ports at the close of the Revolutionary War. In 1791 the colony was enlarged by the arrival of about twelve hundred Negroes from Nova Scotia who had escaped from slavery in the United States. The colony was virtually destroyed by the French in 1794, but was later reestablished and recruited by the arrival of a number of freedmen from Jamaica. The Society which undertook the management of the colony was known as the African Institution. Prominent among its members were Grenville Sharp, William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, Joseph Hardcastle and Thomas Clarkson. The government of Great Britain cooperated with the African Institution from the outset, chiefly in providing transportation and in building homes and providing for the civil government. In 1803 the government took over the colony and placed it under a royal official. The growth of the colony of Sierra Leone was slow, there was considerable sickness, some trouble with neighboring tribes, and a great deal of internal dissension among the various groups of Negroes, yet it remained as a living example of the possibility of a successful plantation of civilized Negroes in Africa. What the British had done the Americans might also do.

The first Negroes to go directly from the United States to Sierra Leone were thirty-eight persons who sailed from Boston on a ship owned by Captain Paul Cuffee, a half-breed from the Elizabeth Islands who had previously been employed by the New York Missionary Society in its work among the Indians of Long Island. Captain Cuffee, upon his return to America, reported the Sierra Leone colony in a flourishing

condition, with five churches, three or four schools, in one of which he had observed "one hundred and fifty female Africans who are being taught to read the Word of God."

Another early advocate of Negro colonization was Thomas Jefferson. His motive was of course not religious but purely humanitarian. At heart sincerely opposed to the institution of slavery he fully appreciated the social and economic problems which emancipation would entail. Any plan for freeing the slaves, he believed, must be accompanied by some provision for the removal of the freedmen from the country. He first proposed to the legislature of Virginia in 1777 that the free colored population be colonized in some appropriate place and that there be a gradual emancipation of the slaves. In a letter to James Monroe, written in 1801, he suggested that efforts be made to remove the freedmen to Santo Domingo. By 1811 he had reached the conclusion that the West Coast of Africa offered the most suitable area for Negro colonization.

By 1816 several forces were converging which resulted in the formation of the African Colonization Society. Religious groups were taking a lively interest in the human well-being of people, especially of the unfortunate. Missionary societies, Bible societies, Sunday schools, orphanages, asylums for deaf mutes, and temperance societies were rapidly coming into existence and affording living testimony to the dawn of a new day of humanitarian zeal. The outlawing of the African slave-trade by act of Congress in 1807 was another indication of the benevolent desires of the American people. Slavery itself was still regarded as essentially evil by enlightened public opinion on both sides of the Mason and Dixon's line. Only in South Carolina was there any tendency to encourage the further importation of slaves. In Virginia, it is true, the further emancipation of slaves had been forbidden, but the reason for such legislative action had been the fear of an insurrection of the free Negroes. The presence of a large

number of freedmen in the state was felt to be a serious menace to the stability of society. In 1802 the legislature had asked the governor to correspond with President Jefferson with a view to securing land outside the state where "persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society might be removed." A few years later the governor was asked to correspond with President Madison with the definite object of securing territory on the West Coast of Africa "to serve for an asylum of such persons of colour as are now free and may desire the same."

The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States was formed in 1816. The man who was chiefly responsible for its organization was the Rev. Robert Finley, of Baskingridge, N. J. Finley had in his student days at Princeton come under the influence of two prominent anti-slavery Calvinists, President Witherspoon and Ashbel Green. Concerning Finley's special interest in colonization his biographer says:

> There exists satisfactory evidence that his mind had been occupied a considerable time in endeavoring to devise some plan which would afford relief to those unfortunate, oppressed, and miserable exiles before he gave publicity to his views on the subject.

He seems not to have been aware of Jefferson's letters on the question nor to the secret action of the Virginia legislature. In a letter written to a friend, early in 1816, Finley said:

> The state of the free blacks has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness too. . . Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of Africa similar to Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go there and settle? . . Ought not Congress to be petitioned to grant them a district in a good climate, say on the shores of the Pacific Ocean? . . Could they be sent to Africa a threefold benefit would arise. We should be cleared of them; we should send to Africa a population partially civilized and Christianized for its benefit; our blacks themselves would be put in a better situation.

Late in 1816 Finley visited President Madison, several members of Congress, and some other influential residents in the national capital. The difficulty of arousing Congress to action was considered. It was decided that the best plan was to organize a colonization society which would correspond to the African Institution, a society of British origin. The Federal government might be expected to follow the example of Great Britain and assume responsibility after the colony had been started. At the Washington meeting Henry Clay was appointed temporary chairman and Judge Bushrod Washington was elected the first president of the society. Among the numerous vice-presidents chosen were Henry Clay, William H. Crawford, and Andrew Jackson. Clay's speech as temporary chairman was non-committal on the subject of slavery but he made it clear that he believed the people of the South would welcome a movement for Negro colonization. "The freemen," said Clay, "are placed in a peculiar position midway between the slave and the white citizen. Because of this anomaly it would be better to drain this population off. There is a moral fitness in this design. It will enable America to pay her obligations to the black man. The blessings of our arts, civilization, and religion would thus be transplanted to Africa."

It is necessary to stress the fact that among the early promoters of colonization were to be found men of every shade of opinion on the question of slavery as an institution. The officers of the society were at their wits ends to devise ways and means for curbing abolitionist propaganda within the body of its members. At the same time the Southern members were beginning to adopt a more aggressive pro-slavery attitude. Endangered from both extremes the more moderate members sought to stress the missionary character of colonization in the belief that in this aspect of the movement harmony between North and South might prevail. How seriously we are to take the reiterated statements of speakers at the annual meetings

of the Colonization Society that the real purpose of the organization was the Christianizing of Africa, it is difficult to say. Many of the moderate antislavery members certainly entertained the hope of bringing about the gradual abolition of slavery through colonization. But John Randolph of Roanoke, an outspoken pro-slavery member, must certainly have disturbed the harmony of the first meeting by arguing that colonization would confer a great boon to slave-owners through the removal of the free Negroes. More than that he contended "the Colonization Society must materially tend to secure the property of every master in the United States over his slaves." He might have added that it would tend also to increase the value of slaves, a favorable omen for Virginia owners who were beginning to sell slaves for the market in the cotton belt, but not so attractive a proposition to the cotton planters in the Gulf States.

Certain it is that at the outset there was far greater desire on the part of Southern members of the Society to promote Negro colonization than was shown by those from the North. As for the raising of funds it was easier to induce planters to contribute than to secure aid from business men in the North. Judge Washington said in a speech on the first anniversary of the formation of the Society: "Among a small but opulent society of slaveholders in Virginia a subscription has been raised by the zealous exertions of a few individuals of such magnitude as to illustrate the extent of the funds which we may hope henceforth to command." Finley found the people of Trenton, N. J., legislators and citizens alike, indifferent if not openly hostile to the plan, but in Georgia he met with a hearty response. In fact at this very time many Southern planters were giving assistance to a Negro school located at Parsippany, N. J., an institution which was training leaders for the African mission field. In giving this aid some of the donors stipulated that the missionary enterprise be linked up with the colonization movement. It would seem that they

believed that Negro missionaries might be used as an agency for draining off the free Negro population from the United States.

The agitation of the colonization plan tended to stir up the Negroes, particularly in Philadelphia. Many of them believed that force would be used to induce them to settle in Africa. As for voluntary migration they were divided, but most of them seem to have been vigorously opposed to it. Some were in favor of colonization within the limits of the United States, but only a very few who had heard about Paul Cuffee and his colonization work were inclined to look with favor upon West Africa.

Sentiment among antislavery men rapidly became more hostile to the Colonization Society. Garrisonian abolitionism split their ranks irretrievably into "ultras" and moderates. Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, N. Y., was at first prominent among the members of the Society, but after his conversion to abolitionism he withdrew altogether, having honorably discharged his financial obligations to it. That was in 1834, however, and after that period the Colonization Society was decidedly on the wane. But in the first decade of the life of the organization there were many followers of Hopkins and Witherspoon who gave their whole-hearted support to colonization. Prominent among the Calvinists in this early period were such ministers as James Richards and Edward D. Griffin of Newark and Gardiner Spring of New York. But best known of all the Northern promoters of African colonization was Samuel J. Mills of Connecticut.

Early in life Mills had entertained the hope that some day he might go to Africa as a missionary. At Williams College he was active in promoting the missionary cause among his fellow students. From Samuel Hopkins he had learned of various philanthropic movements in all of which he was to become prominent. Edward D. Griffin, who knew Mills intimately, claimed for him a leading part in the formation of

the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible Society, the United Foreign Missionary Society, the African School of the Synod of New York and New Jersey, located at Parsippany, N. J., and the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour. Mills never served as a foreign missionary but devoted his short life to the work of missionary promoter. As agent of several missionary societies and of the Philadelphia Bible Society he made two tours of the United States, and afterwards he worked among the poor inhabitants of various Eastern cities. It was while engaged in this work that he became greatly impressed with the terrible poverty which prevailed among the free black population. He was convinced that "if only a treasury were opened at the North it would be filled from the slave-holding States" for the purpose of promoting Negro colonization. In Washington and Baltimore he raised about eight hundred dollars for the support of the Parsippany Negro School. Shortly after Finley organized the Colonization Society, Mills became active in the formation of auxiliary societies in various parts of the country. The Society appointed Mills and Ebenezer Burgess to go first to England, then to the coast of Africa to select a suitable site for a colony. The immediate purpose of this visit was to secure information to lay before Congress. Mills' career was destined to be short. He died at sea in 1818 on his return from Africa.

Just how Mills related the missionary and colonization enterprises can best be shown by quoting from some of his letters. Writing his father in 1817 he said:

> For years past I have felt an earnest desire to meliorate the condition of the people of colour in the United States. The hope of aiding in some plan to effect this object was one reason which induced me to make a tour of the States.

Again in a letter to Burgess just prior to their departure for England he wrote:

> We go to make freemen of slaves. We go to lay the foundations of a free and independent empire on the coast of poor degraded Africa. It is confidently believed by many of our best and wisest men that if the plan proposed succeeds it will ultimately be the means of exterminating slavery in our country. It will eventually redeem and emancipate a million and a half of men. It will transfer to the coast of Africa the blessings of religion and civilization, and Ethiopia will soon stretch out her hands to God.

He did not believe, however, that the Colonization Society would achieve immediate results. His hope was to settle a few blacks of good character somewhere in Africa where civilization and religion might be introduced among the natives. These settlements, he believed, would gradually increase, and colonies would go out to form new settlements until all Africa would be permeated with the Christian religion.

For a time it was confidently believed that the colonization movement would induce many masters to emancipate their slaves. In Baltimore, especially, the plan was warmly approved by many leading citizens. They said they would gladly release their slaves if a colony could be formed to take care of them. Paul Cuffee believed that half the colored population of Boston would migrate to such a colony. Thomas Clarkson of the African Institution recommended Sherbro, a place about fifty leagues down the African coast from Sierra Leone. The natives of Sherbro invited Cuffee to form a colony there, but Cuffee died in 1817 and another site was selected later, near Cape Mensurado.

The birth of Liberia really dates from an Act of Congress passed in 1819 authorizing the President of the United States to institute an agency in Africa for the purpose of providing an asylum for such Africans as should be liberated by American warships from vessels engaged in the illegal slave trade. This Act did not specifically recognize the Colonization Society, but it is quite clear that the report of Mills and Burgess led to its passage. President Monroe appointed as agents to go

to Africa and to make a suitable selection of site, Rev. Samuel Bacon, an Episcopal clergyman, and John P. Bankson. Upon the advice of Dr. Ely Ayres, Cape Mensurado was selected.

Among the first missionaries to undertake the task of Christianizing the Africans was Rev. Lott Cary, a Negro freedman, a Baptist minister of Richmond, Va. Cary had organized an African missionary society in Richmond, and upon reading the journal of Mills and Burgess decided to go to Africa as a missionary. He established a mission station among the Mandingoes, near Cape Mensurado, in 1822. For a time he ruled over the colony of American Negroes much as the Puritan clergy had once ruled New England. During his rule the settlement was named Monrovia, in honor of President Monroe. Cary was killed in 1828 by an explosion of gunpowder. His loss was a great blow to the prosperity of the colony, as he had demonstrated unusual capacity for leadership.

Lingering traces of the original missionary purpose of some of the founders of the Colonization Society are to be found in the *African Repository,* a journal begun in 1825 to promote the cause. For instance, Henry Clay is quoted as saying:

> Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization.

In the Secretary's report for 1836 we read:

> Under its protection the missionaries of every communion and from every part of civilization assemble to devise and execute plans for the regeneration of Africa.

Rev. C. W. Andrews insisted that the purpose of the colonization movement was, "to lay the foundations of a Christian state—yes, of an empire—surrounded by barbarians." Finally, Archibald Alexander, who wrote a book entitled, *A History of Colonization on the West Coast of Africa,* the first

edition of which appeared in 1834, has this to say relative to the original purpose of the Society as conceived by some of its Calvinistic proponents:

> The signs of the times at present indicate that there is something more important hidden in the councils of Heaven in regard to this people, than anything which has yet been developed. It may confidently be hoped that the sons of Africa, now resident in America, will be the honored instruments of spreading the gospel through the benighted nations of the whole continent. . . The dawn of a glorious day for Africa has already appeared. Several colonies have already been auspiciously commenced on her shores; and the very ground which has for ages been the scene of her degradation and wrongs is now become the site of flourishing Christian colonies.

Whatever may have been the prospect for a successful missionary movement it was all too evident by this time that the Colonization Society was being depleted of its leading members because of the growing interest in Garrisonian abolitionism. Controversies between abolitionists and colonizationists became almost as vitriolic as between antislavery and proslavery men. An article in the *African Repository* for December, 1836, condemns "ultraism" in its three prevalent forms, ultra temperance, ultra abolition, and ultra Protestantism. The writer of this article condemned "ultraism" by profuse quotations from Scripture. It is especially interesting to note that practically all the artillery of the writer of this article for the Colonization Society's official magazine had been used many times by the most rabid proslavery advocates. Slavery, he said, had always existed. Legislation relating to slavery was to be found in the Bible. Precepts for both masters and slaves could be read in the New Testament as well as in the Old. The rights of masters over slaves had been recognized in holy writ. The writer believed, nevertheless, that masters might well emancipate their own slaves if some provision were afforded for their transportation out of the country.

*The Pittsburgh Christian Herald* likewise contended that the planters would gladly free their slaves if some means could be devised for their colonization. "Were the united action of the American people brought to bear upon this subject every free man of color and every slave in the United States could be transported to Africa in less time than that which has been assumed in any of the estimates that have been laid before the public." Alas for this fond dream! At the date it was suggested (1836) it was impossible for the united action of the American people to be brought to bear on any vital question, least of all on anything relating to the institution of slavery. By this time the South had very definitely turned its back on emancipation, gradual or otherwise. The border slave states were experiencing a boom in the market for slaves to be sold in the cotton belt. The three first presidents of the Colonization Society had been Virginians, Bushrod Washington, John Marshall, and John Tyler. But the time had come when leading citizens North and South were to range themselves over against one another and make cooperation impossible. In the year 1834 three prominent colonizationists were converted to abolitionism. They were James G. Birney of Kentucky, Dr. S. H. Cox and Gerrit Smith of New York. Birney's defection was a severe blow to the society as it removed one of the few outstanding Southern antislavery men and furnished the abolitionists with a standard-bearer; Smith had been one of the most generous financial backers of the organization. Cox based his disapproval of the Colonization Society on two grounds, that the free Negroes were opposed to the idea of going to Africa, and that the remedy was incommensurate and puny as compared with the evils of slavery. On every hand there was evidence of fierce controversy between colonizationists and abolitionists, a contest which was fully as spirited as that between proslavery and antislavery groups. The slogan of the abolitionists illustrates the fury of the conflict: "The

destruction of the Colonization Society the first step in the abolition of slavery."

The Society was not destroyed by the abolitionists. It rather faded out of the picture. Nevertheless the hope of somehow getting the Negroes out of the country haunted Abraham Lincoln in the midst of his efforts to save the Union. Its relation to Samuel Hopkins' dream of a Christian empire in Africa was never very close and many who came to urge the missionary character of the movement were doubtless indulging in vague generalities in order to screen their real motives or in order to promote harmony within the organization. Our narrative may serve to illustrate the intricacy of religious and social questions and the impossibility of foreseeing the ultimate results which will flow from a combination of our ideals with those agencies which seem at a given time to be most feasible for their promotion.

# THE RELIGION OF MY GREAT-GRANDFATHER

HERBERT AGATE
Minister, Baptist Church, Hatboro, Pa.

SOME time ago there came into the hands of the writer of this paper source material of an important and almost forgotten religious movement during the first half of the nineteenth century. This material was handed down from a paternal ancestor who was deeply interested in the movement, and the paper takes its form from the view-point of his religious experience and connection therewith. As he was a plain every-day man, he will usually be referred to by his given name, William.

William Agate was born in the county of Kent, England, in the year 1770. When about twenty-five years old he married and emigrated to America. He worked in the brick-yards on the Hudson River, near Tarrytown, for a few years and then moved into the woods of western New York, settling about ten miles southeast from the site of the city of Rochester. Here he resided until his death in 1857.

William was brought up in a religious atmosphere. He evidently was familiar with the Bible from the days of his youth. Written exercises of his school days may have on one page a problem in the rule of three and on another a sentence from the Bible copied as a lesson in penmanship.

The religious influence over his early life is manifest by a rhyme which he copied in a little book when a boy of fifteen. It is entitled "A Short Dialogue Showing the Woeful State of an Ungodly Youth." The Youth, the Devil and Christ have a part in the dialogue. The Youth on pleasure bent is encouraged by the Devil and warned by Christ. Finally Death stands at the door of his young life and he begs for mercy. But Christ is obdurate and, refusing every plea, replies:

"When I did call thou would'st not hear,
But did'st to me turn a deaf ear,
And now in this calamity,
I will not mind nor hear thy cry,
Thy day is past, begone from me,
Thou who dost love iniquity."

Then Death speaks:

"Thy sands are run, thy glass is broke,
And with my dread and fatal stroke,
Thy soul and body I'll divide,
Thou must in the grave with worms abide,
And thy dear soul in hell must be,
With devils to eternity."

That this austere view of God and Christ was later modified by other teaching is indicated by a little book called *A Summary of Doctrinal and Practical Religion* which he brought with him to this country. This book intended to guide parents in the religious training of their children breathes a different spirit. Here is some advice given to parents:

Assist your sons and daughters to entertain a great and awful, yet a lovely idea of God, that they may love to think of him, and love to pray to him. Frequently represent to them the incomprehensible, matchless grace of Jesus Christ, as proper inducement to become his disciples and imbibe his spirit.

William was a member of the General Baptist congregation of Horsam, England. A considerable number of the General Baptists were coming to America at this time. In a letter to his pastor, written in 1796, he speaks of meeting some of the brethren in New York City, and among them a Mr. Colgate, probably the head of the well-known Colgate family.

With such a religious background William moved into the wilds of western New York. He took with him a Bible that

had been in the family for some forty years, also an illustrated edition of the Scriptures in three large volumes, *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted* and a few other religious books. He and a small group of English families were among the first settlers in the neighborhood. In the next few years there was a rush of immigrants coming largely from New England, and a considerable number from Great Britain. These frontier men brought their religion with them. In a short time churches were established representing the various denominations: Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, Quaker and others, often two or three denominations in a small settlement. In the early days there was a spirit of cooperation, and frequently meeting-houses were built by united effort, the denominations using them in turn by common consent. Religious interest ran high, the people were doctrinally minded, and theological discussions were common in the public services of the churches.

There were several religious movements started in western New York during this period. In 1823 Joseph Smith claimed that he dug up the book of Mormon from a hill located about a dozen miles from the home of William. During the latter part of his life Spiritism became rampant in many communities, and Millerism swept through the churches. But by far the most outstanding religious movement of the period was the rise and rapid spread of Universalism. Perhaps no other religious movement during the nineteenth century had such an outreaching influence on all the churches.

The first Universalist Society in the State of New York was established in Otsego County in the year 1805. Progress for several years was slow. Up until about the year 1820 orthodox ministers were given to belittling the growth of Universalism, but now they began to recognize that it was making inroads on the membership of the churches. Universalism made its greatest advance during the next twenty years. At the end of that period, 1840, there were in the State of New

York about three hundred Universalist Societies and about half as many preachers. In the year 1834 a Presbyterian paper published in Utica sought to arouse the orthodox churches to the peril of the situation. It said that Universalism was a greater menace than Catholicism. Statistics were given showing that in six months of that year Universalism made a phenomenal increase, 36 Societies were formed, 29 preachers received, 15 meeting-houses built, and two orthodox churches had gone over to the enemy. The paper declared that Universalism enlisted the services of four hundred ministers, six hundred congregations, five hundred thousand individuals, and had seminaries of learning and printing establishments. While these figures cover the whole country, and there were Universalists in almost every State of the Union and in Canada, by far the greatest increase was within the limits of the State of New York.

The supply of ministers came largely from other denominations. Baptists and Methodists furnished a considerable number. Many of these ministerial converts to Universalism did not prove to be useful men. This was especially true of the converts from Methodism. One Universalist leader said: "Out of twenty men who came to us—and who became useless or worse than useless—fourteen of them came from the Methodists." The same writer goes on to say of those who came from the Baptists, that they were generally good if not great men. Taking their ministry as a whole it would appear from the testimony of Universalists that there were among them a few men of great talents, but the majority had only a common school or less than a common school education and were without adequate qualifications for the work.

The strength of the movement was in the laymen. In the early days Universalist congregations were almost entirely composed of men. One reason for this was that the membership of the various denominations was largely made up of females whose pastor represented to them that nearly every-

thing evil was embodied in Universalism. The women were influenced to believe that it was not respectable to attend a Universalist meeting. A prominent Presbyterian minister of Utica publicly stated before his congregation that he suspected the virtue of any female who attached herself to a Universalist congregation.

It seems that a large number of reflecting men turned to Universalism because of dissatisfaction with the prevailing creeds of the churches. Hyper-Calvinism was proclaimed from most of the pulpits. A frank statement of this doctrine was given by the Genesee Baptist Association, held in Warsaw, N. Y., in 1829, which says in Article I of its Constitution, that the Association shall be composed of such churches *only* as embrace among other doctrines mentioned, " The total depravity and just condemnation of all mankind; eternal, personal and unconditional election." Much of the preaching was a setting-forth of the doctrine of total depravity and what was termed the infinity of sin. One preacher with a mathematical turn of mind undertook to estimate the number of sins for which a man might be guilty. For a depraved being mere living was sin, so he decided that every time a man inhaled and exhaled his breath he committed a sin. This he figured would amount to about fifty sins a minute, three thousand in an hour. On the basis of a sixteen-hour day (he did not explain why he so graciously omitted the eight hours) he found that in thirty years a man would commit 525,600,000 sins. To these he added other sins, such as failure to pray twice a day and like criminal propensities which would swell the number. The Methodists and other Arminians proclaimed the doctrine of free grace for all mankind and then proceeded to outdo the Calvinists in their descriptions of a literal hell of fire and brimstone.

The movement toward Universalism was accelerated by a school of evangelism which flourished during this period. It might be said that American Universalism could trace its

lineage back to revival meetings. In England a man named James Relly was converted in Whitefield's meetings and for a time preached among his adherents and later espoused the doctrine of "A Finished Salvation in Christ for All Men." Relly was made a convert of John Murray, who carried the doctrine to America and became the founder of the Universalist denomination in this country. At the very time when Universalism was so rapidly increasing in numbers, Finney, Knapp, and several lesser lights in the evangelistic field were moving among the churches. Protracted meetings were held in almost every community, often continuing for weeks at a time. In these meetings the appeal was generally to fear. Damnation, endless damnation, deep dark double damnation, flames of hell and damnation are words that appear frequently in the vocabulary of the evangelists. One of the evangelists was reported to have said: "Hell is so hot that a soul taken from there and placed in Nebuchadnezzar's superheated furnace would experience all the feelings attendant upon a fit of ague." These protracted meetings, usually accompanied with emotional excitement, often produced dementia in weak and nervous persons. It took the form of fear that they had committed the unpardonable sin, and occasionally led to murder and suicide. Almost every issue of Universalist papers would call attention to some dire result of such meetings. Here was more capital for the cause.

Another reason for the appeal of Universalism to fair-minded men was the unreasonable and often unchristian opposition on the part of many leaders of orthodoxy. This was not true of all the leaders or churches. There were many examples of a fine Christian spirit manifested by the opening of church buildings for the use of Universalists. There was, however, generally speaking, such violent opposition on the part of orthodoxy as to give the impression that the Universalists were being persecuted. The movement was represented to be the work of the devil. One preacher is

reported to have said that there were just four Christian churches, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Episcopal; all others were the devil's churches. The *Baptist Register* published in Utica declared that men who are decided Universalists are as much in a state of derangement as lunatics in an asylum. An attempt was made to show that Universalists could not give testimony in a court of law because they did not believe in eternal future punishment. If a well-known Universalist attended an orthodox service the preacher might pray for him as that miserable wretch, that child of the devil, in terms that would designate the person referred to as definitely as would the mention of his name. If a Universalist stood up to pray in an orthodox social meeting he might be howled down or prayed down by some pious brother who would save the church from such sacrilege. Members of the orthodox churches of the various denominations were excommunicated for no other reason than their belief in universal salvation.

The Universalists were not without fault in these contentions. They were forever stirring up controversy and seeking to debate the question at issue. It was a common thing for a Universalist to attend an orthodox service, take notes on the sermon, and then proceed to write a letter to the preacher in criticism of his doctrine, and perhaps publish the letter in a church paper. On the whole, the Universalists were more refined and Christian in the use of language than were their opponents. The harshest epithet applied to the orthodox was to call them partialists or limitarians.

Another reason for the progress of Universalism was due to the fact that it had a one-track mind. It was the gospel of reconciliation and restitution. With them all other doctrines were subordinate to this vital teaching. It was an inclusive religion. All who believed in their one fundamental doctrine, no matter how diverse their views on other teachings of the Scriptures, were welcomed to their fellowship. It is

remarkable that coming, as the Universalists did from different and differing groups, they were able to maintain the spirit of unity during those years of rapid growth and focus the full strength of their people on the teaching of universal salvation.

While William has not been mentioned in the discussion of the progress of Universalism, he has not dropped out of the picture. Indeed, he furnished nearly all the data used in the discussion. And now we will consider his personal relationship with the movement. He became a member of a Universalist Society formed in Pittsford, N. Y., in the year 1813. This Society was largely composed of English people formerly connected with the General Baptists. English Baptists seem to have had a considerable part in the movement throughout the State. Several ministers of English Free Baptist churches connected themselves with the Universalists, and in at least two instances took their churches with them. This is not surprising since from the beginning of their history General Baptists had shown a leaning in that direction. Thomas Helwys, a friend and supporter of John Smith in Amsterdam, after returning to England set forth the doctrine of a general redemption in a document entitled, "A Short and Plaine Proof By the Word and Workes of God—That All Men are Redeemed in Christ." The teaching of Helwys was universal redemption but did not go as far as universal salvation. In the year 1658 another English Baptist, Samuel Richardson, took the next step and in a work entitled, " The Torments of Hell: The Foundations and Pillars thereof Discovered, Searched, Shaken and Removed, with infallible Proofs, that there is not to be a Punishment after this life, for any to endure, that shall never end," convinces himself of the ultimate salvation of all men. So it is not strange to find English Baptists taking up with Universalism.

The course of reasoning which led William to become a Universalist is in part explained by writings which he jotted

down on the blank pages of some old copy-books. Notice his conviction as to the love of God expressed in the following lines:

Could we with ink the ocean fill,
Was ye whole earth of parchment made,
Was every single stick a quill,
And every man a scribe by trade;
To write the love,
Of God above,
Would drain ye ocean dry;
Nor could the scroll,
Contain the whole,
Tho stretched from sky to sky.

Notice the passion of his utterance as in a long involved sentence he writes of the love of God manifest in the salvation of all men:

May ye rich displays of divine light with its consolatory aspects shine upon Zion who hath long labored under darkness, error and superstition, and be brought into ye glorious liberty of the sons of God, by ye knowledge of that truth that declares that God is ye Saviour of all men, and shows forth that unlimited and unchanging love to a lost world, secured in Christ Jesus who is Lord of all, by ye knowledge of which, may we all be brought into ye enjoyment of that freedom whereby we are enabled with godly reverence in spirit and truth to worship ye living and true God acceptably without fear, then shall we break forth into songs of praise to ye riches of thy grace, for thy goodness and for thy wonderful works towards ye children of men.

In a discussion with some of his Baptist brethren he presents the following points backed by scriptural references as an argument for universal salvation:

I. As touching ye impossibility of God being defeated in any of his purposes.

II. As touching ye impossibility of his word failing to accomplish ye very thing which God pleased it should accomplish.

III. That God pleased to send forth his word to repair ye breach, to save ye world and reconcile all things to himself.

One of the outstanding arguments against Universalism was that it constituted an invitation to throw off all restraint and give oneself up to a life of sin. Here is the way William argues this point with his Baptist brethren:

Some of our brethren have already told this heretic that if ye universal doctrine be true, then we may take liberty to sin against God as much as our carnal natures call for; we may with pleasure gratify ourselves with all manner of wickedness. But I must acknowledge that by this I was blush; for our brethren might just as well confess outright that they are utter strangers to ye love of God, and to ye true spirit of religion, that if it were not for the fear of hell and eternal misery they would utterly disregard all true religion; if they could but be saved, escape hell and get to heaven without religion, then their greatest pleasure would be constantly to live in all manner of wickedness, turn their backs on all true religion, and utterly reject all ye counsels of God; and all the reason they do not act in this vicious manner is because they are yet afraid they will have to go to hell and misery, and there continue eternally if they are not religious, hence they choose a religious life and refrain from many outward vices. But O brother! if these be ye best principles from whence their religion comes, they would be as well without any of it, as with it. For it is a religion composed of two bad elements; first, ye love of self and carnal pleasure; second, ye fear of the devil and cruel torments, which never fail to exercise ye creature in ye first law of nature according to ye common proverb, "Self-preservation." This is not ye case with Christians. Christians ought to love and fear God, and not ye devil. For that man who only from fear of ye devil and misery, and from a love to himself, is religious has a religion void of any foundation, save the devil and himself, and let this foundation be destroyed then all his religion must of course fall to the ground and come to naught.

Intense as was his feeling for the teaching he had espoused, William had little of the spirit of sectarianism. A man's views are indicated by the way he may mark his reading matter. Here are some sentences which he emphasized by markings:

Let us show that we are less for the establishment of a sect, than for the prevalence of truth and righteousness.

I know not—I care not—whether we shall prevail as a sect—if a sect you will have it that we are—it is enough for me, that the leaven of divine truth, which the ministers of our faith have been instrumental in communicating to the mass of mind, is powerfully at work; and that it will—nay must—in due time leaven the whole lump. The triumph of our principles is vastly greater than the triumph of our sect, prosperous, indeed, as this has been beyond a parallel.

This seems almost a prophecy of what was to take place in American Christianity. Already at the time these words were written, in 1836, the Presbyterians in their General Assembly acknowledged that the doctrine of endless misery had become fearfully unpopular even among themselves. Although no formal changes have been made in doctrinal standards, the note of endless misery has largely dropped out of the preaching and thinking in our churches. While Universalist churches are almost a negligible influence in the religious world today, the principles which the movement voiced have modified the thinking and changed the atmosphere of all the churches.

This brief dissertation on local history of a limited period serves to point out that the faith of our fathers, considered as a body of doctrine, is a kind of an evanescent thing continually unfolding into something else. It also reminds us of the healing and purifying processes ever at work in the religion of Jesus, correcting the mistakes of men and moving toward a higher goal. It is a significant fact, and a testimony to the vital faith of the men on both sides of this controversy, that in the very region where it took place there were developed strong churches, free from theological excrescences and responsive to the leadings of the Spirit of God in the forward movements of the present day.

# THE CHARACTER OF GOD

## A Comparative Study

JOHN BENJAMIN ANDERSON

Professor of Christian Theology and Ethics,
Colgate-Rochester Divinity School

THE Report of the Commission of Appraisal of the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry is leading more Christians than ever before in sixteen centuries to compare their own religion with the other great religions of the world. This Report, however, did not initiate this process, for in our own modern period a very extensive investigation of non-Christian religions has been carried on; and striking similarities among them, and also between them all and Christianity, have been brought to light and have impressed an ever-widening circle of Christian thinkers.

Comparisons are proverbially odious, but they need not be. They are odious and hurtful only when they issue from an egotistic temper and a narrow partisanship accompanied by considerable ignorance. Some comparisons between Christianity and other religions have been made in this murky atmosphere and have been ungracious, intolerant, aggressively self-assertive and even contemptuous. Such comparisons are notoriously inaccurate; they are unjust and therefore alienate the people whose religion is thus assaulted.

But a great deal of the comparison of Christianity with other religions, especially in more recent and enlightened times, has been made in a kindly and sympathetic spirit and with the desire to share with others that which is of superlative worth and supreme blessing to ourselves and with the desire also to receive from the men of other religions any assistance they can give us toward experiencing the highest religious values.

The present writer desires to consider in this spirit the

contribution which Jesus makes to the world in respect to the character of God in comparison with what is to be found in other religions.

Of course if a comparison were instituted between the thought of Jesus on this and other important matters and a good deal of professedly Christian thought throughout the centuries, it would be manifest that Christianity as a historic movement has been and still is far below the level of its Founder and nearer than he to the ethnic religions. We shall, however, in the present essay make a comparison only between Christ's conceptions of the character of God and the conception found in ethnic religions.

The moral qualities which men have ascribed to the gods have ranged all the way from every sort and degree of selfishness and cruelty and vice to love and purity and justice and perfect uprightness of every sort. In Babylonia there was a highly developed personal and social morality, unethical acts being also regarded as sins against the gods. Many of the people were sensitively conscientious and their extant penitential psalms show a close similarity to psalms of a like nature among the Hebrews. Yet the gods sometimes became intoxicated, and magical ceremonies did much to weaken the feeling of the need for repentance and divine forgiveness.

In Egypt, especially in the feudal period, the conception of the righteous life and of the gods as the guardians and vindicators of the righteous life was very lofty indeed. A vast number of extant texts are concerned with right and wrong, and with the action of the gods in visiting retribution upon the sinner.

Passing on to Persia, it is always a joy to a Christian to contemplate early Zoroastrianism, for, as a competent historian has said: "No other pagan religion has ever penetrated so deeply to the root of sin, nor so much made personal holiness its aim." Ahura Mazda helped men to become righteous, and the goal of religion was a righteous and happy com-

munity. The Persian religion, however, did not retain its pristine purity. It lost its ethical inwardness, and sank to the lower level of a mechanical ceremonialism.

Again, the ancient Mexicans believed that the gods required a virtuous life from men. Even a "new heart" is insisted on. In Peru after a full confession to the priests it was usual to bathe in a river, saying: "O thou river, receive the sins I have this day confessed unto the Sun, carry them down to the sea, and let them never more appear."

The Chinese classics, however strange to our Western minds may be their way of expressing ideas, yet teach for substance of doctrine that there is a moral order in the universe and that man possesses a moral sense corresponding to that order. And since the moral order is universal and supreme and inescapable, the prosperity of the state depends upon man's loyalty to that order. Violation of it brings certain disaster. One of the most popular of the Taoist books says that "the spirits take note of men's deeds, and according to their lightness or gravity curtail the term of life." (*The Book of Rewards and Punishments.*) Also a negative form of the Golden Rule originated in China. Yet the sense of sin, whether among Confucianists or Taoists, is superficial.

Present-day Buddhism at its best, as seen in some of its fifty-six sects in Japan, namely those which believe in some personal deliverer such as Nichiren and Amida, bring peace and spiritual power to many souls, and "there is no reason to doubt that there remains in Buddhism an element of truth through which God continues to bear witness to Himself." Yet in spite of the fact that Japanese Buddhism is doing a beneficent work of great variety all over that country, the people widely and justifiably distrust the morals of the Buddhist clergy; many of the clergy themselves have lost faith in their religion and the great mass of Buddhist adherents are still less influenced by it than are the majority of the clergy. There are several well-known reasons for this state

of things. One of these reasons brings Buddhism into significant comparison with Christianity. It is that a doubt is spreading, in a nation now generally in some degree educated, as to the historic reality of Amida and his sufferings for mankind. In comparison, the historic fact of Jesus and his cross comes home with great force. In Buddhism, moreover, there is no feeling of responsibility to a supreme Being. Though sin is keenly felt, it is not thought of as the breaking of a divine law; and deliverance from it is a human process which must continue till the evil has worked itself out.

In India there is an extensive and bewildering confusion of very noble and very ignoble elements in religious and ethical thought. The conception of sin in some of the ancient Vedic hymns is spiritual; it is a defeat in the struggle between one's higher and lower nature; and its remedy is also spiritual, namely, longing and effort to become reconciled to a friendly god. For the gods were thought of as guardians and saviors of the moral life. To get rid of sin, however, was no easy matter. Sin was felt to be a "stain, a burden, a heavy and galling chain," and men appealed for help to Varuna and several other gods. And yet the time came when the masses of the people were afforded an easy road to forgiveness. No penitence and no change of heart is demanded; for sheer mechanical actions suffice to cleanse the soul. A plunge into the Ganges "will wash out the vilest and bloodiest stains of the most degraded characters and of the most abandoned criminals."

Krishna is India's most popular god today. There are inconsistent representations of the character of Krishna in Indian literature. Some are morally lofty; but indulgence in the grossest vices are also freely attributed to Krishna, and many of his worshipers have shown their love for their god by imitating his shameful deeds. Krishna, as worshiped in Bengal, has even in the recent past fostered prostitution in his temples. Another popular cult is that of Śiva, whose temples

abound in phallic symbols instead of idols, and whose worship has at times degenerated into the most shameless and unblushing licentiousness. It is no wonder that a student of these matters declares that "what India needs is a conception of an all-holy God and the example of a holy life on which to order every action of daily life." Of course there are within Hinduism many whose conception of God has nothing in common with such grossness and whose communion with God is pure and inspirational of noble living. And in the course of the centuries reform movements of large significance have taken place within Hinduism.

Among Muslims, as among Christians, sin is opposition to the will of God. No other modern non-Christian religion so nearly approaches the Christian teaching as to sin. But there is a great gulf fixed between the Muhammadan and the Christian doctrine of sin, because Muhammadanism says that an action is right only because God wills it. It is not surprising therefore that according to the Quran God commands men to perform some most reprehensible deeds. Christianity teaches that anything God wills he wills because it is right, that is, because it is in accord with his own infinitely perfect and holy nature. To the Muslim, God is a completely arbitrary despot who foreordains every human action. It is no wonder that among the Muslims there is so little sense of guilt.

Now in regard to the righteousness of God, Jesus has made a difference whose extent we can hardly realize. This difference is partly ideational and partly experiential. One of the most conspicuous features of teaching about the divine character in all religions, including historic Christianity, is its inconsistency. But the consistency of Jesus' thought about the character of God would seem to be complete. He also presents an unequaled moral standard for both God and man. And on the side of experience he so embodied this standard in himself that he is fitted to be the shining moral leader of

the human race. Indeed the great point is that by being what he was Jesus helps us to believe that God is like him. We do not have to search through extensive sacred literature; we do not have to study the history of the ages; we do not have to spend many years in philosophical reflection to discover what the character of God is. We see it in one compact, brief life, a life of incalculable spiritual wealth, marvelous in its unity, its symmetry, its moral adequacy; a life quite unparalleled in the purity, depth, intensity and constancy of its relation to God and also peerless in the wisdom and universality and sacrificial quality of its relation to men, a life which is the loftiest, the noblest, the greatest thing in all human history. And, on the principle that it is reasonable to interpret God by the highest we know in human experience, we Christians find it possible to believe that God is like Jesus. While it is true that the revelation in Christ of God's righteousness, reduced in theological fashion to a list of ethical attributes, would be the same as might be derived from the best in the Old Testament, yet Jesus made these divine attributes concrete as never before. By living them among men he made them vivid, vital, convincing, alluring. And even if we were to find in the ethnic religions all Christian ethics and all Christian religious conceptions, however poetically or eloquently expressed, we would lack the most vital element of all, namely, the embodiment of all this truth in the spiritual beauty and moral greatness of a historical human life. These religions do not have the shining of the moral glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. The conviction that God is Christlike is found in its completeness only in Christianity.

For further light which Jesus sheds on the divine righteousness, we need to look at his estimate of moral evil or sin. While the idea of sin and the sense of it has been intelligent and effective for moral betterment among certain peoples, as, for example, among the ancient Egyptians of the feudal period, the Zoroastrians at their best and the Hebrews, yet

it is in Christianity that the conception of sin has been most adequate and the sense of sin purest and keenest and most helpful toward reformation of character and of society. And this has been due to Jesus.

For any adequate view of sin and especially for a deep conviction of sin several things are necessary, foremost among which is a clear and consistent and vivid conception of a perfectly holy and loving personal God. To Jesus God was spiritual, i. e., purely ethical, not partly ethical and partly physical. To Jesus God was also personal. Therefore in his view sin is inward and outward contrariety to the personal will of the infinite love and holiness, while in pantheistic philosophy the tendency is very strong to regard sin as only an illusion. To Jesus God was also the heavenly Father, and our Lord would lead each one of us into the experience of an obedient and loving son of God. When temptation comes to such a person, the question also comes, How shall I do this great wrong against my Father? and against such a Father?

Again, when we ask what righteousness practically is, the answer is, that its central element is love, love in the sense of the desire and endeavor to give oneself and all good to others. There has been very wide-spread belief in divine benevolence. The belief that the Great Spirit is benevolent is very frequently found among primitive tribes, and among civilized races the belief in benevolent deities is common. Thus the Egyptians said of the god Horus, " Everyone glorified his goodness; his love is in all our bosoms." Mul-nugi, the moon-god of Ur in Babylonia, is addressed as " merciful begetter of the universe, father, long-suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholds the life of all mankind." Some of the Babylonian hymns and petitions for divine help are beautiful utterances of faith in divine benevolence. The avatars of the Hindu god Vishnu were for the purpose of saving the world. Also Vedic hymns to Varuna, the god of justice, presuppose that he is merciful, and in certain

schools of Hindu thought Brahma appears as the All-merciful. An ancient Indian text declares: "The Lord of creatures (Prajapati) gave himself for them; for he became their sacrifice." The conception of God's love as mother-love, frequently presented in a figurative way in the Bible and too much neglected by us Christians, is made much of in the thought of many Hindus, although unfortunately it is entangled with the serious practical defects of what might be called "the cult of the cow." We find in India also the concept of *bhakti,* expressing a personal relation to a personal God, intimate trust in Him, joyful communion with Him and devoted love to Him, the ultimate result being that the devotee is delivered from *karma.* In Mahayana Buddhism the absolute Being is regarded as merciful and appeals to his benevolence are encouraged. In Scandinavia all gifts and blessings were ascribed to Odin, the mightiest of the gods. In Islam, though Allah is not noted for his benevolence, yet he is merciful to Muslims. Among the Hebrews, Jehovah's love for his people and especially his mercy toward a repentant Israel, is celebrated in many beautiful psalms, and until we come to the Gospels we can find nothing in all the religious literature of the world which can equal Hosea's delineations of the love of God for sinners.

Nevertheless Jesus has made a difference in human thought about the love of God. For, prior to Jesus, the belief in the divine love was obscured by a variety of causes. In the case of the primitive tribes the conception of the Great Spirit was too vague and it was often felt that since he will not do men harm, no attention need be paid to him. Practically his benevolence was lost sight of by people who were preoccupied with numberless malignant demons who were substantially their only gods. Again, in the great ethnic religions, ancient and modern, there is the disadvantage of moving in the realm of personifications of the forces of nature or in the realm of tales about tribal heroes of an almost forgotten past

or in the realm of subtle philosophical speculation or in the realm of polytheism which multiplies the gods by hundreds or thousands or even millions. The situation in Israel was different and vastly more satisfying to the human spirit, because the doctrine of the love of God rested upon a historic basis. It was supported and illustrated by past and contemporary events in Hebrew life, individual and especially national.

But with Jesus something new appears, something unique in the history of religion. In the first place, the life of Jesus is one from which, as from no other life, it is possible to infer a perfect divine love for every man. In his mighty conviction of the Father's love we have an inspiration to a similar faith for ourselves, a faith not only in divine love which desires and endeavors to impart self and all good to others but which also desires to possess others for himself in the everlasting bonds of affection. Above all, the love of God receives an altogether peerless expression in the cross. Notwithstanding the mythological conceptions of suffering, dying and rising gods, where in all the history of human thought about God and his relation to men will you find such a daring, such a stupendous belief concerning the love of God as you find in the Christian interpretation of the cross of Christ? Where else shall we look for any clear belief that God sacrifices himself greatly for men? Where else shall we see an evidence and an illustration of the love of God comparable with this—God himself on this earth as a historical person undergoing the most terrible suffering for his human children? And the climax of this great new faith in the love of God is reached in the still larger faith that the crucifixion is not only an event at a single point of time but that it is continuous in the divine experience of sacrificial love for sinful men. The cross is always in the heart of the heavenly Father.

However far Jesus may or may not have gone in giving us these particular forms of the faith in the divine love, it

remains true that there is hardly a possibility that such a sublime and appealing and transforming faith in the love of God could ever have arisen if it had not been for what Jesus was and for what he said and did. As it was, such faith was inevitable and therefore it is at least indirectly due to the influence of Jesus. It is similar in regard to the incarnation. The belief in the incarnation did not arise by a myth-making process. It arose in close connection with historical facts in the full light of a well-known historical *milieu*. The simple truth is that Jesus lived the kind of life and exerted the kind of influence which led multitudes of intelligent persons to believe that he was the incarnation of God. The consequences to religion have been incalculably great. For those who have had this belief God, the Christlike God has been for all practical purposes brought out of the vast void of an invisible world and made vivid and real to the imagination. The value of this is finely suggested by Robert Browning when he represents David saying to Saul:

> 'Tis my flesh that I seek
> In the Godhead. I seek and I find it. O Saul, it shall be
> A face like my face that receives thee; A Man like to me,
> Thou shalt love and be loved by, forever: A Hand like this hand
> Shall open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand!

Though the idea of the fatherhood of God is largely involved in all the foregoing, yet the idea has come in our day to be so very important that it will be well to accord it separate presentation. The word "Father" has been used of God almost universally both among savages and among peoples of all grades of civilization. And we all know that it was Jesus' favorite name for God. But this does not tell the whole story, for the word "Father" is not literally to be applied to the deity, but figuratively, and in consequence may connote several things. Sometimes it means creator, sometimes providence, sometimes supreme authority, sometimes the great and good Spirit over all. Now these and other uses

of the name " Father " as applied to God are true and worthy and valuable for the religious life. Yet Jesus has made a great difference in the use of this name. For the fatherhood of God which we find in primitive religion and in the ethnic religions is usually fatherhood, not of the individual, but of the tribe or of the nation or of the world. This was true for the most part even in Judaism. Further, the fatherhood is often only a very vaguely conceived creativity or supremacy, a vague and largely inactive benevolence as contrasted with the busy activities of the numberless demons, mostly malignant, who after all, and not a heavenly Father, are the supernatural beings that really count in human affairs.

We may well rejoice that God has been thought of as Father, even though the conception has often been pale and weak. It nevertheless looks in the right direction. It is a salutary counteractant to lower and unworthy conceptions of the supreme Being which have existed side by side with it. It has been helpful to man's higher life. It also prepares for the more satisfying conception and fuller realization of the divine fatherhood which Jesus brought to us. In order to appreciate better the contribution which Jesus has made in this regard it is quite necessary to stress the truth that he has made this contribution only in part through his words. Significant as are his teachings about God the Father, even more significant is the life behind his words. Right here is the crucial practical difference between the Hindu *bhakti* experience and the Christian experience. For the Hindu is thinking only of the absolute ideal while in Christ we have a historic person who is the ideal *bhakta* and furthermore is in personal relation to us, so that he exerts a powerful influence over us to help us toward the ideal *bhakti* experience. We need by spiritual sympathy to penetrate deeply into his realization of the presence with him of his Father; we need to ponder long and earnestly his profound and joyous consciousness of being the son of his Father; we need to be able to divine in

some measure what his personal relation to God meant to Jesus, a relation inexpressibly intimate, loving, pure, intense, unbroken. Then and only then we may be able to understand that we are here in the presence of something new in human life which we may well contemplate in hushed and wondering adoration.

And Jesus encourages us to grow towards an experience like his. And to help his very imperfect brethren to do this he lives out the holiness and love of the Father in a human life before our very eyes. What kind of a Father is God? The Fourth Gospel gives us the answer: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," and we learn by looking at him. All the moral beauty and glory of Jesus becomes attached to our conception of the heavenly Father. This is the difference which Jesus has made in the conception of the fatherhood of God.

My conviction is that these conceptions of Jesus as to the character of God and his illumination and empowering of them are indispensable to the well-being of humanity. For these ideas concerning God should not be thought of chiefly as theological propositions, but rather as dynamic ideas and vehicles of religious and moral power. Consider, for example, the practical implications of the idea that God, the holy God revealed in Christ, loves all men. If the individual man is really the object of God's boundless love, then surely he is at least worthy to be the object of *my* boundless love. Who am I that I should with reason despise anyone whom God desires to bless? hate anyone God loves? ignore anyone upon whom God has set his heart forevermore? On the contrary, perhaps the preeminent significance of God's fatherhood is like this: all men have the priceless value which infinite love sees in them; all men are worthy of everyone's self-sacrificial love.

There are many lights, greater or less, in the world, but there is only one who really deserves to be called *the* Light

of the World. Jesus can never be superceded. There is a finality about him, and there is a completeness about him.

Whenever we think that in our explorations of the philosophies and literatures and cults of mankind we have come across some great truth about the character and will of God and his moral relations to men, we shall always find that the great truth was already in the thoughts, the deeds, the relationships, the attitudes, the spirit of Jesus Christ, the Son of man and the Son of God.

# EDITORIAL NOTES

## Deliver Us from Abstractions

ABSTRACTIONS are useful instruments of thought to express the common element in a number of similar experiences. Their value, of course, depends on the accuracy with which an inductive process has been conducted. As the logicians tell us, the validity of an induction depends far more on the weight of the evidence than the quantity of it. It is possible to generalize on the basis of a mass of details, none of which are significant, and hence reach a wrong conclusion. On the other hand a few meaningful instances may be all that are necessary for the purpose in hand. All of which is as significant in theological thinking as anywhere we can imagine.

An abstraction is in many cases too easy and convenient. It provides a person with a ready-made concept under which he can subsume his particular case and be content. And his content increases in the measure that his criterion is endowed with ecclesiastical authority. All the while he may have serious qualms as to whether or not his case fits into the general scheme. The growth of inductive science in modern times has resulted in an increasing disposition to ask questions about theological method. We ought surely to be interested more in truth and accuracy than in trying to fit our data into properly labelled pigeon-holes.

## Regarding Needs

THEOLOGIANS have ever been concerned with the problem of salvation. They repeatedly ask the question: From what do we need to be saved? Augustine gave the lead to much traditional theology with his idea of original sin, and since his day the tendency has been to concentrate all that it was felt required to be said about human needs in the doctrine of

sin. As a result of the fall of Adam, the whole human race has fallen heir to a corrupt and guilty nature. It follows from this original corruption that man has become totally depraved, disabled and inclined to evil. It is impossible for him not to sin. The salvation he needs is a transformation of his nature into one that is totally different. That new nature is delivered from the power of Satan into the kingdom of God.

The concept of total depravity is an example of the blanket formulas that no longer satisfy the lovers of truth. Who is there who has looked into the face of an innocent baby, and felt any convictions about depraved human nature or inherited guilt? Augustine thought the crying of infants at baptism was evidence of original sin. A modern mother would rather suspect colic or some other natural cause was responsible. The theological explanation means nothing to her at all. The truth is that we have a good deal more trustworthy scientific information about human nature now than Augustine had.

The evolutionary point of view has helped to bring about the change that we have observed. The developmental view substitutes primitive man, naïve and animal-like, for the divinely created first parents. The story of the race is one of ascent from lowly origins through struggle to the cultural achievements that we now enjoy. It is a tale of progress, not regress, of a climb, not a fall. It is much too simple and facile an explanation for our wrongs to lay the blame on our first parents whose corrupt natures we have inherited. The scientific conclusion is that moral sensitivity is an achievement of the race, after a prolonged up-hill struggle from lowly origins. It is nothing but defrauding ourselves to try still to reduce all human needs to one grand abstraction. Today we know perfectly well that our needs are many and various. To label them all as " sins " is trying to pour new wine into an old bottle. The result is inevitable.

This does not mean that our needs are any the less urgent or poignant. The fact is that the modern man feels a sense of need that is all the more desperate because he lacks the easier assurances of his forbears. There is no simple formula that can express his experience of need. It demands the most careful and exacting study of human nature in all of its complex relations, utilizing all the analytical technique that science makes available for the purpose. One of our most pressing needs is the need for discrimination in regard to the needs themselves.

## Regarding Salvation

If all human need be compressed into a theological abstraction, salvation is liable to be portrayed also in abstract terminology. If human depravity or an originally sinful nature be the blanket formula to describe our needs, a miraculous transformation covers the experience of salvation. But the theologian is taking a leaf out of the scientist's note-book today and learning to think more concretely and specifically. No one wants a physician who would be content to treat one for sickness in the abstract with no diagnosis in particular. Modern people are feeling more and more that way about all their needs. The evils that overwhelm us, the obstacles that block our way to the Christian life have to be met individually, and we must deal with them specifically. There is this plural aspect to salvation of which we must not lose sight. It is quite possible for us to experience salvation in one aspect of life and be unconscious of need in another, or perhaps be unwilling to face all that is involved in another aspect.

The emphasis on the concreteness of our needs and deliverances makes the Christian way of living both more difficult and more thorough. Numbers of people are quite willing to pray for deliverance from evil in the abstract, but would wince at the suggestion of praying for deliverance from their pet indulgences. Church folks will frequently leave their

minister in peace and quietness as long as he preaches to them of sin and grace in the abstract, but let him begin to be specific about the wrongs of a political or industrial order in which they are participants and they will threaten to withdraw their subscriptions toward his salary. The very deliverance they need is the one in which they are not the least interested, as their own consciences could testify.

The vogue of the general practitioner in medicine is fast disappearing. His place is being taken by an array of specialists, each of whom undertakes to make diagnoses and prescribe treatments within a circumscribed range. The situation is analogous in the wider sphere of human interests and needs. Our sociologists, economists, political scientists, sanitary engineers, educators and psychiatrists are all diagnosticians within specialized fields and many of them ready to prescribe some treatment of therapeutic value for the ills they discover. Skilled scientific knowledge is as necessary to guide us out of our miseries as it is to tell us precisely what ails us. Occultism and quackery are as anachronous in the sphere of moral and spiritual ailments as in that of physical ills. The piety that looks askance at technical scientific knowledge as an instrument of human welfare is dangerously superficial. It has no conception of the integrative functions of religion and science in the service of humanity, and it is consequently in danger of denying to man the use of tools of great precision for the enrichment of life in its most important aspects.

Christian thinkers have always regarded the Bible, prayer and the sacraments as means of grace, and rightly so. They constitute mediums through which moral help has been given to men and women in need. With our more concrete appraisal of needs, we must also include a more concrete understanding of the means by which our needs are met. The moral life is bound up so inseparably with the physical, the mental, and the social, that pathological conditions there place one in moral

danger. Consequently whatever brings healing and help to life anywhere is a means of grace. It may be a surgeon's knife removing a diseased organ, a pair of spectacles correcting distorted vision, a sanitary system purifying the air that is breathed, a political upheaval uprooting vested interests, or an economic revolution recognizing the rights of humanity. Whatever makes war on the evils from which mankind suffers and helps to deliver him from the enemies of his welfare is a means to the enrichment of life. Whatever contributes to the abundant life is a means of grace.

# BOOK REVIEWS

**The Resurrection of Jesus.** SELBY VERNON MCCASLAND, Ph. D., Professor and Chairman of the Department of Religion in Goucher College. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1932. Pp. 219. $2.00.

PROFESSOR MCCASLAND appropriately calls this excellent volume "A new study of the belief that Jesus rose from the dead, of its function as the early Christian cult story, and of the origin of the Gospel literature." To some readers may come the uncomfortable feeling that the book is not sufficiently scholarly because it is neither ponderous nor unintelligible. A few, however, may have common sense enough to recognize that it is the former precisely because it is neither of the latter two! In a field that is cluttered with the debris of many investigations, the present author walks confidently and as one who needs no guide. His familiarity with the subject, his knowledge of the pitfalls where many investigators have become bogged, and his lucid and logical treatment make the present study an admirable one. The wealth of excellent parallel quotations is by no means the least value in the book. Precisely because the critical apparatus which is presented is so important, it is unfortunate that the notes are printed together at the end of the text. No serious study nor careful reading of the book can be carried on without them. It is a great nuisance to be obliged constantly to turn from the text to the notes. Such a method of printing may give a superficial appearance of simplicity; it is a real handicap for the student.

Professor McCasland's thesis in brief is this. The whole story of the resurrection of Jesus was originally told in seven words, *ὄντως ἠγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὤφθη Σίμωνι* ("The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon."—Luke 24:34.) From this nucleus the later elaborate forms developed. He emphasizes that in this original statement two clues are given: the belief in the resurrection arose as a result of a vision, not through the finding of an empty tomb, and Peter, that is Simon, was the first recipient of this vision. He shows the wide-spread confidence in the ancient world that the dead returned, especially such as had died by violence, and argues that in keeping with this belief, the experiences through which Peter has passed together with the effect that Jesus' personality must have had upon him provides a quite adequate explanation of the new

confidence. This is by no means a new discovery. Many scholars have long felt some such explanation is necessary to account for the prominence of Peter in the early tradition. The present writer, however, has developed this point of view with a convincing skill.

Another of the many excellences of the book is the thoughtful study of the problem of the tradition "on the third day" and of the Christian Sunday. These chapters embody earlier articles by Professor McCasland and are extremely valuable. Out of the chaos of conflicting traditions which set the date of the resurrection on the day of the crucifixion, on the third day, after three days, after three days and three nights, even after the feast of Unleavened Bread, finally "on the third day" gained the ascendancy. That this was on the basis of Scripture is improbable. Paul writes, "he hath been raised on the third day *according to the scriptures,*" but no one has found a probable passage in the Old Testament. Professor McCasland concludes: "It seems more probable that the tradition arose on other grounds and was then attributed to Scripture, even though no particular passage was in the mind of those who did it." Furthermore, the adoption of Sunday by the church was probably independent of the three-day motif—although after Sunday had been adopted on other grounds it probably aided the "on the third day" tradition to displace its rivals—a conjunction of the hebdomadal practice in Judaism with that in Sun worship. Mithraism with its veneration of Sunday may well have prepared the way for the Lord's Day.

Once the confidence of the early disciples had been restored and the conviction had been reached that Jesus had actually arisen and had appeared to Simon, this belief became more and more effective as the central truth of the new movement. Not only did it give a glorious illustration of the triumphant outcome of glorious martyrdom, but it proved their claims about Jesus, and was seen to have a cosmic and sacramental significance for all mankind. Thus thrust into the focus of Christian thinking the original narrative, "The Lord is risen indeed, and has appeared unto Simon," came to be expanded and elaborated into the lengthy stories we know today, which are to be seen as the product of "a long cult process" in which the early thinking about Jesus, the hopes and fears of many ardent early Christian preachers, are surely to be seen.

All students of the New Testament are indebted to Professor McCasland for this excellent and penetrating study.

Morton S. Enslin.

**The Moffatt New Testament Commentary: The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans.** C. H. Dodd, M. A. (Oxon), D. D. (Aberdeen), Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis, University of Manchester. New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1932. Pp. xxxv, 246. $3.50.

Here is an admirable commentary for the man who desires light on the religious meaning and teaching of the Epistle to the Romans. The volume, the eighth in the Moffatt New Testament Commentary, is an exposition of the translation of that justly-famed scholar. A brief but excellent introduction is given; then follows the commentary proper, each section being preceded by the translation in full-faced type. The same excellence which has characterized each of the preceding volumes, namely, that it can be *read* with pleasure as well as *consulted,* is present here. And what a penetrating light it casts not only upon the epistle but upon Paul himself! The candor and ability to put first things first mark this volume as one of the very few that the student finishes without saying, "Yes, but . . ." It is free alike from fulsome praise and from nickering criticism. When Paul's argument is labored or inconclusive, as 3:1-8; 7:1-6; 9:19-21, he frankly admits it and shows why; when the reasoning is incisive and solid, he is not afraid to appreciate the fact. Perhaps the most important contribution to a proper appreciation of Paul's thinking is the recognition that the burning interest of Paul is the new life which results from union with Christ. As the author finely says: "The 'much more'—he is speaking of 5:10—here has great significance. It shows that, in spite of the emphasis which Paul felt he must lay upon justification (partly because it was at this point that he had to meet opposition), he found the real center of his religion in the new kind of life which followed upon justification. It was life 'in Christ,' or 'in the Spirit'; life in the love of God, as mediated to us by 'the Lord the Spirit.'"

Another excellence of the volume is the thoroughness with which certain critical problems are demonstrated in the course of the argument. Too often commentators summarize their critical observations in the introduction, and then tacitly disregard them. The only real critical problem regarding Romans is that of its integrity. That early in the history of Christianity the epistle circulated in two forms: one substantially as we have it now, a shorter lacking chapters 15, 16 (except for the later, probably non-Pauline, benediction 16:25-27), is established beyond reasonable doubt. Furthermore it is highly probable that chapters 15, 16 (with the above-mentioned exceptions) are from Paul's own pen. The only question is: Did he first pen the epistle in the shorter form, and then expand it to send it to Rome; or did he write the longer version first, which was subsequently abbreviated? Doctor Dodd inclines

to the latter view, but feels that while Paul composed the whole epistle as we have it, except for 16:25-27, for Rome, he was not composing it all *de novo*. For example, chapters 9-11 may very well have been a complete sermon which he had often delivered which he here incorporates. Similarly other sections as well may have been earlier employed, and here incorporated.

Personally I incline to the other view. The marked similarity between Galatians and Romans, the lack of personal note in the latter as well as the more cautious and conservative attitude toward debatable points incline me to the hypothesis that Romans is to Galatians as Ephesians is to Colossians. That is, after Paul had written his energetic note to Galatia, in which he had been led by his excitement to lay himself open to serious charges, he found it wise to send through the district a more seasoned and considered statement of his "Gospel" and its implicates. This "general epistle" might well have been the shorter and therefore earlier recension of what we know as Romans. Later, when desiring to send a greeting to Rome to prepare the way for his own visit, he revamps this earlier epistle, adds chapter 15 (perhaps 16, although this latter point is less probable), inserts the two references to Rome which are not found in Mss. G. and g and were apparently omitted by Origen. I have been impressed through a study of this commentary by the amount of support for this view which is here provided, although the author finds the other explanation more probable. Again, Doctor Dodd finally, after weighing carefully the evidence for chapter 16, inclines to the view that while "the arguments for Rome and Ephesus respectively come far short of proof one way or the other . . . the burden of proof rests upon those who would set aside the tradition in favor of a conjecture . . . we may be content to accept chap. XVI (except the doxology) as an integral part of the epistle." Although I have not been entirely convinced by this argument, it appears to me that he has made the strongest case for the integrity of this section that we have.

The volume may be cordially recommended as one which every student of Paul may well read with profit. Study of it should go a long way toward the correction of the absurd view—masquerading at the same time as an evidence of liberalism and of pious devotion to the simple gospel of Jesus—that Paul was an unfortunate liability the early church foistered upon Christianity.

Morton S. Enslin.

**Case Studies in Present-Day Religious Teaching.** Hugh Hartshorne and Elsa Lotz. New Haven: Published for the Institute of Social and Religious Research by the Yale University Press. 1932. Pp. 295. $2.00.

How far are modern religious educational theories being carried out in actual teaching situations? It is this question which this sixth volume of Yale Studies in Religious Education seeks to answer. It is the report of an investigation of the teaching methods used in one hundred and fifty of the country's outstanding schools of religion. An observer competent in the techniques of creative character education, visited these classes and took notes on them, including descriptions of the environment, and the verbal responses, actions, and apparent attitudes of teachers, pupils, and others present. These she evaluated in the light of ten criteria.

Part one reports five full sessions, and, under the caption "Types of Teaching," contrasts methods which represent widely divergent educational points of view.

Part two, a "Summary of Cases in Terms of the Criteria," gives case material to illustrate how the various norms are being approached, on the one hand, and fallen short of, on the other.

Part three illustrates specific difficulties confronted by teachers and shows how they are being met.

This study takes one from the blue sky of pure theory to the hard earth of reality, for this is not a presentation of what ought to be done, but an account of what is being done. In bringing evidence to show the gulf which exists between theory and practice, it does a valuable piece of pioneering. The objectivity of the facts presented and the soundness of the criteria by which they are evaluated increase the value of the work.

To teachers it offers an opportunity to observe vicariously the work being done in the best schools. It also succeeds in leading the reader into an objective evaluation of his own work. So vivid—and so typical of teaching with which we are all familiar—are the cases given, and so striking the contrasts, that one finds himself thinking of his own work and evaluating it in terms of the criteria given.

To those superintendents and supervisors who have been wondering how they could present to their church school leaders, in a manner at once understandable and challenging, the findings of modern religious education, this volume commends itself as a basis for discussion and an incentive to further observation and supervised teaching.

To those who are engaged in the task of preparing teachers for the church school of tomorrow, this book says, "Physician, heal thyself." It points out the fact that all too many schools, through their classroom

procedures teach the very thing against which they talk. If taken seriously this book would make a period of apprenticeship under a creative teacher in an actual classroom situation, a prerequisite to graduation for the professional teacher and minister.

JOHN W. THOMAS.

**Christian Unity in Practise and Prophecy.** CHARLES S. MACFARLAND. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xvi, 396. $2.75.

A GOOD many people are telling us how church union ought to come. Doctor Macfarland in this volume tells us how it has been coming and forecasts its probable future course. Writing out of more than twenty years' service at the center of the movement whose history he records, as General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, he gives us an authoritative record of the progress of "federal unity" its relation to contemporaneous movements for organic unity, and the measure of promise it holds out to us. At the same time he has tried to be objective in his treatment and has succeeded well in detaching himself from the organizational interests he served so long. The result is a record and a prophecy to which students of the subject will be turning for years to come as a storehouse of material and an example of sound method.

One finds here a clear definition of the problem in the light of present conditions, a historical review that begins with primitive Christianity and becomes detailed and comprehensive in its record of the progress of unity in the United States, in world movements, and in the quest of organic union. The problems and difficulties and the present denominational attitudes are fairly and frankly set forth.

In pointing out the probable path of advance and the practicable functions of federal unity the author was able to draw upon the latest Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council at which a Committee on Function and Structure, appointed in 1928, gave its report and recommendation based on four years of study. He also had the benefit of the much-discussed Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry with its insistence upon a practical administrative unity that can be realized without the necessity for difficult ecclesiastical mergings of the "organic" type. It is hard to escape the conviction produced by a careful study of this significant volume that church union is actually coming into being by processes and with a rapidity that few even of those engaged in it fully appreciate. The hint that Doctor Macfarland gives that the solution of the problem may come about by a process not unlike that by which the American colonies found union with liberty—it is only a hint—may prove to be the most prophetic utterance of the book. For this type of union there need

be no long waiting to compose troublesome theological and ecclesiastical differences of opinion. Federal union is not a finished static ecclesiastical structure but a vital and dynamic process by which, living and praying and working together, we may "all attain unto the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God."

Of great value to the student of contemporary Christianity are the historic documents incorporated in the body of this volume and in important appendices.

They include the recently revised social ideals of the churches, the messages of the International Mission Council at Jerusalem, the Universal Conference on Life and Work, Stockholm, and the World Conference on Faith and Order, Lausanne, as well as the constitution of the International Missionary Council, a statement of the United Lutheran Church of America, the report of the 1930 Lambert Conference, and a statement of the Eastern Orthodox delegates at Lausanne.

JOHN MILTON MOORE.

**Moral Laws.** EDGAR SHEFFIELD BRIGHTMAN, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1933. Pp. 322. $2.50.

PROFESSOR BRIGHTMAN has written this book under the conviction that ethics is a science. That being the case, the principles of the moral life are capable of being formulated as laws. Goodness is more than convention or *mores*. It is a control of human behavior by rational laws. Ethics from that approach is "the normative science of the principles (or laws) of the best types of human conduct." It is an interesting observation that the original meaning of the English word "law" is the same as that of the word "moral," namely custom. The word refers to what men customarily do and therefore are expected to do. In the development of its meaning, the concept of universality has been added to the original meaning. Moral laws are universal, not in the sense of being inviolable, however, as are natural laws. They are universal in the sense that the will ought always to conform to them. One is inclined to inquire whether disease is not an indication of the violation of natural law, as sin is of moral law. Violation in each case brings consequences according to law.

Brightman makes no claim to be presenting new substance for the ethical science. His contribution is in method of presentation. He attempts to erect a systematic structure of the moral laws, his belief being that if ethics be a rational account of moral experience, it can be systematized.

The reader will understand Brightman's approach best by placing before him the structure of the system of moral laws, as given on pages 89 and 90.

1. The Formal Laws:
   - (1) The Logical Law (consistent will).
   - (2) The Law of Autonomy (self-imposed ideals are obligatory).

2. The Axiological Laws:
   - (3) The Axiological Law (consistent values).
   - (4) The Law of Consequences (consider and approve foreseeable consequences).
   - (5) The Law of the Best Possible.
   - (6) The Law of Specification (develop values relevant to the situation).
   - (7) The Law of the Most Inclusive End.
   - (8) The Law of the Ideal Control (control empirical values by ideal values).

3. The Personalistic Laws:
   - (9) The Law of Individualism.
   - (10) The Law of Altruism.
   - (11) The Law of the Ideal of Personality (judge and guide all acts by an ideal of personality).

There is always value in reconsidering the subject-matter of ethics from a new point of view. The main argument of the author is coherent and convincing. His conclusion is that ethics is autonomous, depending on no external authority. The treatment of the relation between morality and religion is too sketchy and not so convincing.

A. S. Woodburne.

**A Philosophy of Religion.** Ambrosius Czako. With an introduction by Principal Nathaniel Micklem. London: H. R. Allenson, Limited. 1933. Pp. xiii, 157. 5s.

The author of this book is a Hungarian by birth, and has written in Magyar and in German. This is his first published work in English. He has been a Roman Catholic and is now a Protestant, so that he knows both Catholicism and Protestantism from within. The little volume under review is not like any other book in the philosophy of religion. Its approach is different, as is also its method of treatment. He begins with a chapter discussing the meaning of human life. For him the meaning

of life is found in the constant struggle to overcome limitations, including those which arise out of evil and death. His conviction is that we must be good for life to have meaning, and that it has meaning only if it does not terminate with death. Our life conceived as moral struggle and development has meaning only on the basis of our dependence upon God, but God must be unchangeable, or for Czako he is no God.

Doctor Czako discusses the meaning of prayer, miracle, sacrifice, and worship. The discussion of miracle is rather novel. He takes the point of view that miracle is the concern of the religious man who also knows science. He believes that prayer should be regarded as the natural force operating in the midst of other natural forces. No more should be expected of a miracle, he claims, than that it should serve the moral development of the person to whom it occurs.

About half of the essay is taken up with a comparative study of the denominations, beginning with the comparison of Catholicism and Protestantism. The denominations have arisen out of the different methods of interpreting the knowledge of Jesus, which they universally acknowledge. They rely on the Bible, even using it as a cudgel with which to beat one another. The real distinction between Catholicism and Protestantism does not consist, as is often supposed, in that the former relies on the Bible for its authority, while the latter does not, but that Protestantism allows greater freedom of interpretation, while Catholicism only permits such translations as will substantiate the claims of the church.

A. S. Woodburne.

**Adventures of Ideas.** Alfred North Whitehead. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xii, 392. $3.50.

Professor Whitehead has given us another interpretation of the nature of things, supplementing his previous contributions in that direction. The present volume in a masterly way demonstrates the influence of certain dominant ideas in the development of civilization. To be sure, they also reflect the author's own views, but at the same time they are valid interpretations of the course of human history.

One group of concepts that Whitehead has traced is that dealing with the relation between the individual and society. This involves an examination of Greek ethics and political theory, and also of the Christian ethic. In the Graeco-Roman world ethics had to be practical; in Christianity there was an impossible, idealistic phase. In the real world forgiveness was not stretched to seventy times seven. Yet such ethical ideals were

greatly influential as driving forces within society. They result in the release of moral energy.

What has been the place of theology in the human adventures with ideas? Our author has some significant observations to make in dealing with that question. Theologians have always been ready to make use of ideas in the process of rationalizing religious movements. Indeed the history of theology is a history of such a rationalizing tendency. "Creeds are at once the outcome of speculation and efforts to curb speculation. . . Antecedently to speculation there can be no creeds. Wherever there is a creed, there is a heretic around the corner or in his grave." (P. 66.) It is an error to think of theology as simply the application of current philosophical theory to religious matters. The fact is that for thirteen hundred years the ablest thinkers were mostly theologians. The debate between the supporters of immanence and transcendence was theological.

One of the chief hindrances to progress in thought has been the recurring tendency to dogmatic finality. In mediæval Europe the theologians were the greatest sinners in this respect. During the last three centuries scientists have too often erred on the side of dogmatism. There should always be freedom for mutual criticism between scientists and theologians. Theologians must be aware of the progress of the sciences, if they are to be true interpreters of religious life in a world where scientific knowledge means so much. It is the method of religion to persuade, not coerce. That is the essence of the Christian appeal to the life of Christ as a revelation of the nature of God. "There can be no doubt as to what elements in the record have evoked a response from all that is best in human nature. The mother, the child, and the bare manger: the lowly man, homeless and self-forgetful, with his message of peace, love, and sympathy: the suffering, the agony, the tender words as life ebbed, the final despair: and the whole with the authority of supreme victory." (P. 214.) This book constitutes a challenge to Christian thinkers to reweigh and reevaluate their theological ideas.

A. S. Woodburne.

**Edwin Markham.** William L. Stidger. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1933. Pp. 287. $2.50.

Chosen to deliver the Simpson Lectures at De Pauw University, Dr. William L. Stidger selected as his subject "Edwin Markham." There are many to applaud his choice and many more to applaud his lectures, now available in this book. It is an almost perfect form of annal, fulfilling the wise conditions suggested by John Masefield for a biography. Coming generations will approve so intimate a study of a great poet, presented by

a close friend, whose appreciation is discriminative and whose judgments were shaped by constant consultation with the subject of them.

Edwin Markham is a perennial amazement. The author of several volumes of poetry containing at least two masterpieces (some would say more), this eighty-one-year-old lover of life is planning two books, *Complete Poems* and *The Forgotten Purposes of Jesus,* which he estimates will take several years to get ready. But then, he plans to live to be one hundred years old, "and then I shall go out to find real life and real living." Living a full, glorious life is both his achievement and his goal. He is "a child of nature" "with a clear mind, a comrade heart and a spirit friendly to research."

Apart from a remarkable study of his great poems, Doctor Stidger's book has caught the overtones of his friend's life, and life and poetry are for Markham and the student of Markham, but one theme.

Read this delightful book and be alternately amused and strangely stirred. Go with the poet on a trip to Yellowstone Park; hear him give his rules for living and eating; note the ten books he would take with him on a desert isle (ubiquitous desert isle!); learn the story of his watch; have breakfast with him, or lunch at that hotel where a waitress recognized him and learn what came of it; these are the memorabilia of the volume. Its monuments are the stories of the origins and motives for his great poems.

Many will underline the sentence on page 239, "The Gospel of Jesus is the one thing that has had the most profound influence in my life." Everyone will read this book with a growing sense of gratitude to Doctor Stidger, who plays an occasional eulogistic, but always an intelligent Boswell to his beloved Johnson.

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

**The Strategy of City Church Planning.** ROSS SANDERSON. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research. 1932. Pp., with Appendices, 240. $2.00.

THIS book is the statistical and interpretative presentation of the facts accumulated by the Institute of Social and Religious Research in a recently completed survey of city churches. Ninety-three cities of one hundred thousand population or more were considered and the sixteen most typical were chosen for study. Two thousand white Protestant churches were selected from sections of the cities that represented every degree of social progress or degeneration. The volume is one of answers. Why do some churches fail in communities where others succeed? Does the financial condition, the denomination, the theology, the lay or ministerial leadership, the internal harmony of the group answer the question? What relation-

ship does the church and its success have to its environment? This last question is answered with the definite statement that

> Church progress does correspond with social trends in all types of territory, in all sectors and in all denominations, with comparatively slight variation.

Of course the variations are the most interesting cases which the analysis explains. Why do churches fail in thriving communities? The facts answer that and many other questions. Why do some few outstanding churches succeed where they might be expected to fail? The answer to that question is often found in facts more revealing than tempting.

The average church, however, is one that thrives or dies in sympathy with its environment. For that reason, denominational and interchurch planning is essential.

The author has dramatically and interestingly overcome the handicaps of " strategy " and fifty-six tables, charts and maps. The book may well be read by every church executive. Those pastors who do not regard its message of importance merely for bishops, secretaries and district superintendents will be the unprovincial and theirs will be great profit.

F. Raymond Baker.

**The March of Faith.** Winifred Ernest Garrison. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. 332. $2.50.

Those who know Professor Garrison and his writings well know his genial wit and charming literary style. In *The March of Faith* the man and the author are at their best.

To sit down with this book for a reading is almost as delightful as to sit down an evening with the writer himself and listen to his happily told stories of personal experiences and historical events. The kindly, human personality with its penetrating mind, gently and lightly, but always surely touching reality, seems everywhere present.

Not that the author makes history tell his story. He has no argument to make, no tenet to prove. He tells simply, without any thesis in mind, what happened " religiously " in America from the close of the Civil War until the present. And the story unfolds easily as already written in the newspapers, magazines, church records, biographies and other innumerable publications of these years. Striking deep into this treasure mine of information Doctor Garrison has found the rough ore which he has refined into pure gold for the delight of those who would possess it.

In the first chapter we are given a view of the country as it was in 1865. Then comes the period of reconstruction, the westward movement,

the growth of prosperity and power, the overthrow of old customs, the rise of cities, the stupendous task of the church in seeking to Christianize this new human order. Thus develop sects, a host of little religious groups, while at the same time there is a movement toward cooperation and unity. The Church and Big Business and the Churches and the World War lead on to perplexities, social and theological, the latter expressed in fundamentalism and humanism. Quite appropriately the book closes with the chapter "New Frontiers of Politics and Religion."

R. E. E. Harkness.

**Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome.** Frederick G. Kenyon, Late Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1932. Pp. viii, 136. $1.50.

Every student of ancient epigraphy and manuscripts has long stood in debt to the industry and learning of Kenyon. This present volume, which includes three lectures delivered in March, 1932, in King's College of the University of London, deepens the obligation, for it contains an altogether admirable statement of the advances in knowledge regarding book-making and reading in the ancient world which discoveries of many papyri in recent years have made possible. Mr. Kenyon modestly states that his little volume does not claim to replace the standard works in ancient book-production. Nevertheless, in addition to providing for the student a new chapter in this subject, it serves as an admirable introduction for the non-technical reader who desires to learn a little of the literary past.

The famous dictum of Grote, "neither coined money, nor the art of writing, nor painting, nor sculpture, nor imaginative architecture, belong to the Homeric or Hesiodic times," is now known to be quite untenable. Writing is definitely proved to have been employed in Egypt in the third millennium and in Crete as early as 2000 B. C. Homer is accordingly to be seen as having written his poems by the ninth century. Although books were not then common, it is probable the professional reciters all had their copies.

Until the end of the third century of our era the papyrus roll was the usual, in fact the almost universal form in which books were made. By the fourth century, however, the use of papyrus was declining in favor of parchment. This was coincident with the change in form of the "volumes." The rolls were awkward and of limited content. The codex of folded sheets was now becoming increasingly popular. Kenyon has demonstrated in this connection the probability that this change was largely due to the new Christian writings. Certainly in the third century, very prob-

ably in the second, the papyrus codex had made its appearance in connection with Christian literature in Egypt. Eventually it won the day, and, using parchment as the medium until finally this was supplanted by paper, provided a much more usable form of book.

The Chester Beatty papyri, whose discovery was announced in November, 1921, cast a flood of new light on the whole matter, and are discussed by Kenyon. These papyri make certain that while our several Gospels often circulated separately it can no longer be asserted that they could not have been known as a combined whole in the second century. This conclusion will be of the greatest significance to students of the New Testament. It may be pointed out in conclusion that this collection of papyri contains a Gospel-Acts manuscript and also one of the Pauline epistles of the third century. The student of Christian beginnings may well smile at the confidence of his occasionally noisy and supercilious colleagues in other fields that he has doomed himself to a task of threshing long dried straw.

MORTON S. ENSLIN.

**The University of Experience.** LYNN HAROLD HOUGH. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1932. Pp. ix, 122. $1.00.

**Blundering Into Paradise.** EDGAR DEWITT JONES. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1932. Pp. x, 126. $1.00.

**You and Yourself.** ALBERT GEORGE BUTZER. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. viii, 117. $1.00.

**The Unemployed Carpenter.** RALPH W. SOCKMAN. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. viii, 119. $1.00.

**Little Evils that Lay Waste Life.** MILES H. KRUMBINE. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. xi, 128. $1.00.

SINCE last a review was made in THE CROZER QUARTERLY of the volumes by Harper, five more have been published as above.

Lynn Harold Hough has given us in *The University of Experience* a group of searching sermons. They are versatile and stimulating, and modern in their approach. " Finding Our Way in the Twentieth Century " is a title which justifies the last statement.

Edgar Dewitt Jones has produced in this volume a fine set of homiletic jewels. Read " Blundering Into Paradise," the sermon which gives the book its title, and you will speedily understand why Doctor Jones is one of our great pulpit orators of today. The other sermons are equally good. The book is full of grace and spirit.

*You and Yourself,* the volume by Doctor Butzer, follows a line of thought which indicates the pastor's extreme concern with those to whom

he ministers. The preacher is bent on the cure of souls, and of sick and sinful nature. This form of preaching commends itself to pastors who should know how to preach with effect over long periods to their expectant flocks.

Doctor Sockman's volume is human and practical to an unusual degree. To anyone especially interested in titles, we commend the ten titles in this volume. They are superb as models of title-making for present-day preachers. The sermons are very readable.

Dr. Miles H. Krumbine looks at the world before him with its sins and follies and all its unpromising nature, and tells us what he thinks of it. He faces life with bold realism. But his soul is anchored in God, and he knows what to prescribe for life's vanities and diseases. This volume keeps high the standard which has been set by the previous volumes.

GEORGE F. FINNIE.

**The Conversion of the Church.** SAMUEL M. SHOEMAKER, JR. New York: Revell Publishing Company. 1932. Pp. 125. $1.25.

DOCTOR SHOEMAKER, of Calvary Church, New York, has issued another arresting book on the character of current Christianity and the modern church. As the title indicates, this is an effort to arouse the conscience of the leaders of our churches to lay hold on some of the values usually declared as pathetically lost, such as spiritual radiance and the power freely and effectively to claim people for Jesus Christ.

The reader must be soon aware that the author is pleading a cause, the cause of individual personal religion, as he says, preliminary to any real achievements in the world of need. And the effort is not only sincere, but persuasive. The reviewer turns from the book, however, with mixed emotions. First, he is moved to admit that he has felt again the irresistible glory of enthusiastic religion, which cares not for exactness in its claims concerning itself, so obsessed is it with its sureness in the way of God. Then, the mood of revolt! Doctor Shoemaker is so absolute he tends to quicken our cynicism. His characterization of the so-called Social Gospel is little less than a caricature in places, and yet he avows his recognition of that emphasis as part of the Christian message. It is hard for some of us to accept any type of religious disposition or deed as quite so satisfying as the type he advocates. But we called him a crusader for a cause. And, of course, his cause is the Buchmanism or New Oxford Movement emphasis. A critical mind must not fail to recognize the degree in which the distinguished clergyman has added luster personally to that advocacy. Nor can it fail to heed his counsel, knowing his rather remarkable effec-

tiveness in this sort of work at Calvary. Nevertheless, a critical mind tends to stand back a little and shake off the spell of the writer's authoritativeness and demand that this individual correctness shall not be the burden of Christianity to that degree that many of the intolerable features of the social, economic or international order may wait their time without benefit of Christ. Such a personal religion over-emphasized has been the token of a partial truth on many occasions and always with sorry results.

IVAN MURRAY ROSE.

**The Meaning and Truth of Religion.** EUGENE WILLIAM LYMAN, Professor of the Philosophy of Religion, Union Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1933. Pp. xvi, 468. $3.00.

PROFESSOR LYMAN has contributed one of the most significant works in the philosophy of religion in recent years. It is a work marked by comprehensiveness, erudition and Christian insight. No one could have written such a book without a prolonged discipline of critical study and thoughtful penetration. The author has the ability of appreciation without pedantry, of sharing without condescension. His work must be an effective reply to the superficial criticism that liberal Christianity is negative and barren.

Religion for Lyman "is an experience of kinship with the deepest Reality in the universe and hence of membership in an infinitely meaningful world and of sharing in an ever unfolding life." (P. 74.) It is concerned with both facts and values, and with the relations between the two spheres. It realizes itself most fully and is most fruitful for human life as it effects a vital synthesis of four elements: the creation and conservation of values, communion with Divine Reality, an imaginative achievement of the human spirit, and an integration of thought and experience. Its contributions toward solving the problems presented by the social struggle are fourfold: a standard in terms of the worth of personality, a method defined as creative cooperation, a diagnosis described as disloyalty to the Commonwealth of God, and a dynamic which is a living faith. It will be apparent from the foregoing how comprehensive is the view of religion presented.

Every phase of religious experience and belief involves problems for a philosophy of religion. In the second part of the book we have a discussion of religious knowledge. Faith is defined as the response of the soul to the Divine Reality apprehended as a Cosmic Moral Will. (P. 154.)

It is that method of apprehension and exploration that is concerned with the capacity of the cosmos to produce value. It involves a creative

effort toward *rapport* with the higher mind of the universe. Lyman considers the place of both reason and intuition in religious knowledge. He finds religion ministering to three types of cognitive need: an interpretative knowledge of the universe, an ontological knowledge of human personality, and a personal discovery of truth concerning the way of life.

One-half of the book is concerned with a rational examination of religious beliefs. The author rightly holds that ethical religion is the greatest spiritual force in human history. Christianity has interpreted the cosmos in the light of its conception of God. It is interesting to note that the new cosmology lends powerful support to a theistic interpretation through its emphasis on order, organization and the organic. Lyman finds rich suggestiveness in the doctrine of "emergent evolution." He believes it possible to unite the doctrines of immanence and transcendence, through the idea of creative Love which is manifest in the cosmic and historic processes, but is utterly consistent in God.

An adequate philosophy of religion must interpret the nature of man, the religious creature. Lyman recognizes man as a part of a physical and a social order, and capable of being a member in a spiritual order. The goal of his life is communion and coworking with the Cosmic Creative Spirit. Thus life only comes to its fulfilment in a moral universe. To be sure we have to reckon with evil in the universe of moral struggle. But a theistic philosophy is as much concerned with explaining the goodness and purposefulness in the world as with their opposites.

A. S. Woodburne.

**Introduction to the Old Testament.** (New and Revised Throughout.) John Edgar McFadyen. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. 400. $2.00.

The author is professor of Old Testament language, literature and theology in Trinity College, Glasgow, and has been well known in America for some thirty years. Sound scholarship, a rare literary gift and a profound religious interest is in evidence on every page. It is a revision of the introduction that was published two decades ago, and while following the same general outline is brought up to date.

A brief but comprehensive study is made of each of the Old Testament books. The content, the critical problems and the religious values of each are in turn discussed. While Professor McFadyen is abreast of the latest scholarship, the academic and the technical are never obtruded on the reader. Each chapter reads so simply and the theme and the argumentation are presented so naturally that the reader is often unaware of

the wealth of accurate information that lies behind, and the fine discrimination the author has exercised in arriving at his conclusions.

On the whole the work is conservative. It may be questioned if the traditional interpretation of Habakkuk can be maintained (p. 245), and it seems doubtful if Malachi 2: 10-16 refers to marriage with foreigners (p. 267), but important interpretations other than those of the author, as those of Hölscher, Smith and Torrey on Ezekiel (pp. 201-2), are always presented clearly and fairly. In other places, as in the relation of the J. E. documents to 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 Kings, chap. 1 and 2, it is interesting to note that Doctor McFadyen leans toward the more recent conclusions, as the reviewer thinks rightly, that these documents are found in Samuel and Kings.

For the reader who wishes a most readable and trustworthy introduction to the Old Testament, not cluttered up with the debris of the study, there is no more admirable volume than this on the market.

I. G. MATTHEWS.

# BOOK NOTICES

**Ventures in Simple Living.** DANIEL JOHNSON FLEMING, Professor of Missions, Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York: The International Missionary Council, 419 Fourth Avenue. 1933. Pp. 177. $1.00.

THE conviction has been growing in the minds of an increasing number among the privileged classes, of the moral responsibility raised by the diversities in planes of living. Some missionaries and other Christian leaders are sensitive that there is too wide a gap economically between themselves and those to whom they are trying to minister. When the cultural levels are so divergent, it is difficult to establish a sense of fellowship without which the Christian message is denuded of its vitality. In the present volume Professor Fleming has discussed a number of adventures in the voluntary relinquishment of wealth and privileges for the sake of sharing the higher values of life. In many cases the experiments have been successful in transmitting the spirit of Christianity, though in some instances the first attempts ended in failure. The author wisely admonishes us against hasty judgments on insufficient data. Where we have people who are in earnest about interpreting the spirit of Christ to people of lesser privileges, they will surely find ways. If the love of God possesses men's hearts it will be expressed in their attitude toward their neighbors. One who reads this book will understand that the plan of greater simplicity merits careful consideration.

**Sons of Sheba.** STUART BERGSMA. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1933. Pp. 160. $1.00.

THIS historical romance which has its setting in the first century of the Christian era is a story of Jan Daraba, an official in the Royal Ethiopian army in search of his family, who had been taken captive during a recent invasion; and also in search of the true religion—the religion that would give him the comfort which the superstitious idolatrous religions of his father denied him. It is a story of adventure and romance. He travels for years in search of his goal, and only after his wealth has been spent and power and honor gone, does he find happiness—and that at the journey's end.

**Richmond Hill Sermons.** J. D. JONES, C. H., D. D. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. 285. $1.50.

THIS volume of seventeen sermons by Doctor Jones, of Bournemouth, England, is representative of a general type of preaching found in Britain. It is distinctively biblical and on the whole somewhat conservative. There is a wholesome spirituality in all of the sermons and they are simply and plainly stated. For pastoral preaching nothing better could be used. There is no effort at literary flourishes or high-sounding phrases. The themes are practical and inspiring.

**What I Owe to Christ.** C. F. ANDREWS. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1932. Pp. 281. $1.50.

THE spiritual autobiography of this great missionary enables the reader to have a rare view into the innermost soul of the man. Andrews combines in an unusual

way the mystic and the critic, never allowing either phase to obliterate the other. "The love of Christ within the heart," constraining the life and molding character is the debt he acknowledges to Christ. As he went to the East, Christ became for him not less central but more universal; not less divine but more human. Many of his earlier ideas were lost, and Christ was reborn for him more truly an Oriental. To help the East regain its consciousness of the universal Christ is the aim he has set for his life. All who know Andrews confess that he succeeds to a remarkable degree because his own life is a portrait of Christ. This is the romance of a great soul, a rich addition to Christian autobiographical literature.

**The Way.** WILLIAM PIERSON MERRILL. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. v, 334. $2.25.

THIS small volume is admirably designed as a guide for daily meditations extending over the period of one year. Each short section, ranging from two-thirds of a page to a full page, is classified according to the day and week of the year, thus making an accumulative contribution as the reader progresses from day to day. Doctor Merrill divides each daily reading into three parts; first listing a passage of scripture, then making a few appropriate remarks, and closing with a short prayer. For the young person and the layman this book would be a valuable asset in their daily devotions.

**Cosmology.** (Revised Edition.) New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. x, 243. $2.00.

THIS is substantially the same as the first edition of this book which was reviewed in THE CROZER QUARTERLY, October, 1928.

**Ethics: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Moral Values.** CLIFFORD L. BARRETT, Princeton University. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. xi, 484. $2.75.

THE almost universal dishevelment of modern life is forcing both informal and formal study of moral problems into the foreground of human thinking and is likewise emphasizing those larger relations of ethics which are illustrated by economics, social, political and religious theory. To the formal, academic pursuit of ethical reflection Clifford Barrett has in his *Ethics* made a noteworthy contribution. He has added to the already numerous and frequently attractive texts in this field a volume which is direct in style and thorough in its general treatment, as well as rich in both historical and contemporaneous content. The book is alive in its keen sense of the varied interests and profound needs of the eager, alert students who comprise contemporary classes in moral philosophy and some of whom shall make up the leadership of that maddeningly changing American society which is so distressingly destitute for a firm grip upon ultimate values.

While fully appreciating the unmistakable merits of the historical approach to moral problems, the author has, in the body of the book and in the select bibliographies at the end, freshly drawn attention to those pressing difficulties of the state, the family, marriage, personal freedom, and the choice of higher values which are welling up within the moral consciousness of our time. Indeed, the book is so vigorous in its awareness of present moral situations and so lucid in its discussion of them that readers apart from formally matriculated students of ethics would hardly find some hours spent with the volume altogether unprofitable.

WILBUR SPENCER SHERIFF.

# BOOKS RECEIVED

**How the New Testament Came to Be Written.** WILLIAM OWEN CARVER. New York: Revell Publishing Co. 1933. Pp. 123. $1.00.

**The Process of Religion.** Edited by MILES H. KRUMBINE. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. viii, 266. $2.25.

**The Life of Jesus.** MAURICE GOGUEL. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. 591. $6.00.

**Religion and Its Social Setting: Together with Other Essays.** ABRAHAM CRONBACH. Cincinnati: The Social Press. 1933. Pp. xxx, 255.

**The Social Gospel and the Christian Cultus.** CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. xii, 259. $2.00.

**The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century.** SOLOMON GRAYZEL. Philadelphia: The Dropsie College. 1933. Pp. v, 377. Cloth, $3.50; paper, $3.00.

**The Christ of the Christian Faith.** W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. ix, 306. $2.00.

**Joseph Smith: An American Prophet.** JOHN HENRY EVANS. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xiii, 447. $4.00.

**Modern Tendencies in World Religions.** CHARLES SAMUEL BRADEN. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xiii, 342. $2.50.

**Interests of Chinese Students.** JAMES B. WEBSTER. Shanghai, China: University of Shanghai Book Store. 1933. Pp. 166. 75 cents.

**The Queenly Quest.** ROSALEE MILLS APPLEBY. Philadelphia: The Judson Press. 1933. Pp. x, 160. $1.00.

**A Handbook of Child Psychology.** Edited by CARL MURCHISON. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press. 1931. Pp. 711. $5.00.

**A Pilgrimage to Palestine.** HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xiii, 332. $1.00.

**The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.** PHILIP MAURO. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1933. Pp. 54. 30 cents.

**Martin Luther: The Formative Years.** B. K. KUIPER. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1933. Pp. 298. $2.00.

**India-Burma.** Vol. IV. **Fact-finders' Reports.** Laymen's Missions Inquiry. Edited by ORVILLE A. PETTY. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. xxiii, 762. $1.50.

**Faith: An Historical Study.** STEWART MEANS. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xv, 334. $2.50.

**India-Burma: Regional Reports.** (Vol. I.) Edited by ORVILLE A. PETTY. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. ix, 258. $1.50.

**The Sensible Man's View of Religion.** JOHN HAYNES HOLMES. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. v, 126. $1.00.

**The Citadel of Beth-Zur.** OVID ROGERS SELLERS. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 1933. Pp. 92. $1.00.

**Scientific Theory and Religion.** ERNEST W. BARNES. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xiii, 685. $4.00.